Young Women's Engagement with Sport in Lusaka Secondary Schools, Zambia

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WORK NOT SUBMITTED ELSEWHERE FOR EXAMINATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

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Thesis Summary

This thesis reports on an investigation into the sport experiences and views of a sample of young women in two High Schools in Lusaka, Zambia. The purpose of the study was to gain an understanding of the sports played by young women, their reasons for playing the sports, the benefits they gained, and how they navigated and negotiated the barriers they faced. The study was framed by looking at the intersections and interactions of four key ideas – sport, education, gender, and development. Significantly the study was set in the context of the United Nations' declarations of sport as a human right and the global policy position of using sport as a tool for development, gender equality and empowerment of young women. Thirty-six young females from Grades 10 and 11, identified through snowball sampling, participated in the interpretive phenomenological research. Data was collected mainly through six focus groups, thirty-six semi-structured interviews and field observations.

The findings show that young women played team sports in schools' extracurricular programmes historically and culturally dominated by men and characterized by gender issues around participation. Interestingly the same young women also took part in after school activities organized by Non-Governmental Organizations that disseminated HIV/AIDS information and addressed gender equality issue through sports. Using young women's voices, the thesis details their personal and social reasons for playing traditionally male sports. It also details the personal, social, health-related and economic benefits they experienced, and, as active agents, how they navigated and negotiated gendered barriers associated with the notion of sport, access to playing space and resources, and regulation of their behaviour in doing sport. There was, however, no evidence from the young women to suggest that playing male sports or sport for development interventions contributed to gender equality and women's empowerment.

The thesis underlines the importance of listening to young women about what sports they want to play, the social support they need from peers, friends and family and especially males, and that sport for development interventions may have potential in facilitating young women's participation or in reducing the gender-based barriers women face. The thesis highlights limitations of the study and suggests important directions for future research.

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My living father Samson, brother Gibson and sister Tamari, and departed mother Lydia, brother Edison, sisters Farirai and Emma and my twin brother Beauty - you have been there for me to fulfil my aspiration. And finally, Sofia - this has been a challenging path and you almost walked away but you gave me the chance to prove myself. Your support is a gift without which I would not have completed this programme.

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Introduction

1.1 Background

This thesis reports on an investigation into the sport experiences and views of a sample of young women in two High Schools in Lusaka, Zambia. It is framed by looking at the intersections and interactions of four key ideas – sport, education, gender, and development. Sport, declared a human right by the United Nations as far back as 1978 (United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation Charter of 1978), is inextricably intertwined with education and development in society (Bailey, 2006; Ozoliņš and Stolz, 2013). The United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) has developed a global policy framework that defines the relationship between sports, education and development, and in particular the presumed positive impact of sport on the personal and social development of young people.

There is a growing sport for development movement supported by the United Nations that understands and promotes sport's contribution to quality education and some areas of development such as gender equality, social empowerment, health and peace (United Nations, 2007). Notwithstanding this, one can argue that such presumed contribution by sport is doubtful as it is blindly based on the assumption that sport is a perfect, universal and public good or human right activity. There is a tendency by the sport for development movement to miss the social or cultural construction and context specificity of sport, particularly that it is gendered (Connell, 1995; Pfister, 2010). In a largely patriarchal society, sport has participation implications for young women who, as known from surveys in both developed and developing countries, face more gendered barriers to participation compared with their male peers (Musangeya, 2011).

The doubts about sport's contribution to development are compounded by little research and, consequently, limited knowledge about the effect or contribution of sports in achieving objectives of education, gender equality, empowerment, gender transformation and development in general. In addition, the little research available does not capture the experiences and views of young people who participate in sport (O'Sullivan and MacPhail, 2010) and sport for development interventions. In an attempt to fill some of these gaps in knowledge, I opted for investing in an interpretive qualitative research pro-

ject that captured young women's lived experiences and views of sport. These are the central focus of this thesis.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured as follows: in this chapter, I provide a rationale for the study, an overview of its focus, the main research purpose and questions, a summary of the main findings and their implications. This introduction is followed by Chapter 2 that describes the geographical and policy context of the study. Chapter 3 presents a review of the literature on the intersections and interactions between sport, gender, education and development. Chapter 4 includes details of the methodology and methods used in the research project. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 include presentations and discussions of the main findings of the research, and finally Chapter 8 contain the conclusions and highlight the contribution to knowledge, implications and limitations of this thesis.

1.3 Rationale

The thesis links directly to my professional work of initiating and managing international sport programmes that try to respond to the United Nations and International Conventions and Conferences, which affirm sport as a right. More specifically, my work attempts to encourage girls' and women's sports participation and to achieve gender equality through sport, thereby working towards achieving development goals.

One could ask how I become concerned with issues about gender equality and empowerment. My biography can explain my interest in gender issues. Whilst growing up, my father often forced me to swap duties with my older sister; for example he instructed me to do kitchen chores like cleaning and washing dishes while my older sister yoked together four oxen and ploughed the fields. He punished me if I harassed or shouted abuse at my older sister for doing men's jobs. My father created a mind-set in me that painted the abuse or repression of women as unacceptable. Later in my early professional work in sport, in the 1980s I was involved in founding the Zimbabwe Women in Sport Foundation, which was centrally concerned with social change and gender power relations. This personal-political initiative became my political home. From that time my professional work has been centred on promoting gender equality and women's empowerment through sport. Although my upbringing and professional work has given me access to the young women's world and influenced me to be pro-feminist, I am still a

man with limited knowledge about gender and development. With that awareness and understanding in mind, I positioned myself in this study as an outsider-within or involved-detached researcher (Collins, 1991; Mansfield, 2008).

My passion for researching gender relations and sport was spurred on by the huge number of female athletes who participated and won medals at the 2012 London Olympic and Paralympic Games. I heard from a work colleague about the bravery, determination and confidence of the only female athlete from Afghanistan, a country that does not support women playing sport. I saw live Saudi Arabia's first female Olympic athlete, a judoka, who competed without wearing a head scarf. I heard from a senior Brazil Ministry of Sport official about a female Brazilian judoka who kept sport a secret from her parents and won a gold medal. Nevertheless, in spite of the hours and hours of media coverage during the London Games, I did not read about or hear these young women speak about their experiences and achievements. It is the absent voices of female sports participants that I sought to highlight through this study.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research project was to understand sports participation by young women in a developing country context where sport is used as a tool for development. In particular, I wanted to know which sports they played including their views, experiences and benefits of participation, factors that influenced these and how they navigated and negotiated the barriers they faced in participating. At the same time I wanted to know the effect or contribution of sports to achieving development objectives associated with education, health, gender equality and empowerment, and learn from their experiences.

The research project was built on experience I gained from a small-scale study (Musangeya, 2010, done in part fulfilment of Phase One of the International Doctorate of Education) in Lusaka, Zambia. The study looked at the impact of sport on the personal and social development of young people in secondary schools in Lusaka, Zambia. It applied a phenomenological approach to research as suggested by Patton (1990), Creswell (1998), and Rossman and Rallis (1998) to look for what people experience in their everyday lives and seek to understand meanings and how they constructed the subjective sport world.

1.5 Overview of the key approaches used in the study

This study adopted a sociological approach in researching young women's experiences of sports in school and in sport for development programmes. Social theories of sports (Coakley and Dunning, 1999) are used to explain sports in society as embodied physical activities that are socially and culturally created and practised. These theories are useful in studying social and cultural factors that frame young women's participation. The social theories specifically relevant to this study are critical and feminist theories (Coakley and Dunning, 1999). Critical theory looks at sport as an undemocratic site for people from different ethnic, race, gender, sexual orientation, religious and class backgrounds (Coakley, 2007). The theory advocates understanding individuals who are disadvantaged by and through sport, and helps in framing questions about power relations and sport's contribution to achieving equality in society. Feminist theory argues that sports are social, cultural and gendered activities grounded in values and experiences of men with power, influence and privilege (Pfister, 2010). The theory suggests that there are gender-based inequalities that disadvantage women in sports' participation. These raised important framing questions for this study about gender relations, barriers to women's participation and ways these barriers can be diminished.

Given my specific sport for development focus, from the outset I needed to briefly share my understanding of empowerment and gender equality used in this study. For me, empowerment is a wide ranging concept; I adopted ideas from Theberge (1987), Rowlands (1995, 1997, 1998) and Ansell (2005) who have suggested that, on the one hand, empowerment includes individual confidence, self-worth, strength, courage and determination to make strategic decisions or resist oppressive power. On the other hand, however, it is collective power or power within a population group that enables the group to control societal structures and economic resources. In the case of gender equality, my understanding of the concept is also wide ranging from the narrow view of just including women in all aspects of life to, as Meier (2005) suggested, transforming gender norms and relations in society.

Consistent with my previous research experience and methodological positioning, I opted for an interpretive phenomenological approach that mainly used the interviewing method of gathering data from a sample of 36 young women who engaged with sport. This thesis therefore used qualitative data gathered through focus groups, semi-struc-

tured interviews and field observations. These methods were used to elicit or capture the voices of the young women and make them more visible in the research and in their own terms. Young women shared their experiences and views with me, which enabled me to gain insights into their lived realities of sport at school and in their social world. Such insights provide flesh on skeletons of limited literature about sport and gender in Zambia.

The two high Schools in Lusaka, Zambia offered a practical, convenient and fertile context for the research project in a number of ways. Firstly, it meant my research costs were not huge; secondly, it allowed me to combine research with work; thirdly, I had access to programme evaluation reports that provided valuable background for the study. These evaluation reports showed an increase in the number of young women participating in sport in Lusaka where a number of established non-governmental organizations (NGOs), for example, Edusport, Right to Play, SCORE, Sport in Action, and Grassroots Soccer, were promoting access to sport and tackling gender inequalities and empowerment of young women through sport.

1.6 Results

The respondents played extracurricular sports traditionally associated with males. This was largely due to the way the schools valued, organized and encouraged sport, and the social influences of friends and family members. Interestingly all respondents also took part in after school activities organized by Non-Governmental Organizations that disseminated HIV/AIDS information and addressed gender equality issues through sports. The sport for development activities, which were less competitive compared with extracurricular sport in schools, supported the personal, social, health-related and economic benefits they experienced. Also, as active agents, they navigated and negotiated the gendered barriers associated with the notion of sport, access to playing space and resources, and regulation of their behaviour in doing sport.

Providing young women the opportunity to speak for themselves in research enables a deeper understanding in this case of how they engage with sport. In this sense it has enabled insights into what young women can do, their capacities, rather than seeing them as either a problem or passive victims of a patriarchal culture. Alongside this, the results of the research echo the call from Kirk (2006) and UNESCO (2012) for critical and al-

ternative pedagogies in using sport for development. This thesis is, of course, very partial, not only because of my own interest and researcher position as discussed in Chapter 4, but because I am an adult male researcher who made sense of young women's views and experiences of sport. As such, it was important for me and this study to work with female research assistants who contributed to my understanding of cultural nuances associated with young women's participation in sport.

There are other limitations of time, timing and finance that had a bearing on this research. This meant that I had to do a qualitative study with a very small and purposefully selected sample of schools and young women. This made it impossible to fully capture voices of diverse young women and the essential processes and structures of lived sport experience of young women. Nevertheless it has produced some rich insights into the young women who took part and represents an important part of my professional and research learning experience.

1.7 Summary

The chapter has provided a general description of what the study is about, including the rationale, background, purpose and significance of the study. It has also highlighted the main research purpose: how female students engaged, experienced and viewed playing sport in education and sport for development contexts. The next chapter describes the geographical and policy context in which the research was carried out.

2
Geographical and Policy Context

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explain why Lusaka, Zambia was the research site. I then look at the geographical, economic and cultural profile of Zambia, and follow this with a description of the education and sport policies and interventions germane to the research. Understanding experiences and views of sport by young women requires knowledge and appreciation of the local conditions or circumstances that influence and shape participation.

2.2 Why Lusaka, Zambia

I selected Lusaka, Zambia as the research site for the study for personal, professional and practical reasons. Zambia is one of more than 30 countries participating in sport development programmes supported by UK Sport[1], the organization in which I work. My job is to manage sport projects in developing countries like Zambia, and the Education Doctorate gave me the opportunity to systematically reflect on my practice and engage in a process of continuous professional learning (Wenger, 2006). The choice of Zambia was also influenced by previous experience with a small scale study (Musangeya, 2010) that gave me familiarity with the context and easy access to the research site and respondents. The integration of this research with my professional concerns also helped to reduce costs.

2.3 Zambia's General Historical, Population and Cultural Profile

Zambia, officially the Republic of Zambia, is a landlocked country in Southern Africa in the Global South (see map on page 7), and bordered by eight countries, namely Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. It is a former British colony and gained independence on 24 October 1964 (United Nations Development Programme Report, 2011).

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1 UK Sport is UK Sports Council; a government agency for high performance sport in the UK with a Royal Charter mandate for international sport development.

Figure 2.1: Map of Zambia

Source: UN data Country Profile, Zambia (UN Division of Statistics)

The country is divided into 10 provinces, and Lusaka province is located in the south-central part of the country. The provincial capital of Lusaka is Lusaka, which is also the national capital. According to the 1966 constitution, Zambia is a Christian country with a population of 14.54 million and 40.03% of the population is urban (United Nations Human Development Report, 2014). The capital city, Lusaka has a population of 1.7 million (2010 estimate) people. Historically, Zambia's economy is based on copper, but has diversified into agriculture, tourism, mining and hydro-power (United Nations Development Programme Report, 2011).

The United Nations reports deterioration of economic and social conditions after the decline in revenue from copper and that some of the major challenges the country is facing include widespread poverty and gender inequalities. According to the United Nations Human Development Report (2014), multidimensional poverty affects 62.76% of the population; 74.45% live on less than $1.25 a day; life expectancy at birth is 58.11 years, and the prevalence of HIV in the 15-49 age range is 12.7 %. The gender equity index is 0.617 (UNDP, 2010; 2011). The UNDP promotes gender equality and women's rights in Zambia as part of its global gender equality strategy (2014-2017). In Zambia gender equality is a crosscutting issue in development plans, but this has not been effectively addressed.

Zambia's culture is a blend of values, norms, material and spiritual traditions of more than 72 ethnic groups that largely speak the Southern Africa Bantu[2] language. The main Bantu languages spoken in Lusaka include Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga (United Nations Development Programme, 2011). However, through the process of colonization, English is the official language. The UNDP (2011) suggests that the blend of African and Western culture was brought about by the process of industrialization and urbanization during the colonial period. Western and Zambian patriarchal norms, values and standards have been embedded in Zambian culture (Allen, 2010), with patriarchal indigenous and traditional customs and values still strong, particularly in rural areas (United Nations Development Programme, 2011).

2.4 Education Policy

According to United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) government expenditure on education in 2008 was about 1.35% of GDP, worth an estimated US$16.1 billion. In 2010 the literacy rate of females aged 15-24 was 67.08%, while the literacy rate for males aged 15-24 was 81.69% (UNESCO, 2010, 2012) reflecting the gender disparity in favour of males. Zambia's formal education system has a "9-3-4+ structure": that is nine years of basic school (primary and lower secondary education), three years of upper secondary education or High School, and four years or more of university education (Ministry of Education, 2005). Basic education is Grade 1 to 9 and High School is Grade 10 to 12.

The 9 years of basic education and 3 years of High School education has promotional (terminal) examinations at Grades 7, 9 and 12; a pyramidal structure that squeezes out pupils who fail the promotional examinations (Banda, 2007). After completing Grade 7, not all students progress to lower secondary education (Grades 8 and 9); for example, UNESCO (2011) data show the primary completion rate as 91%. The transition rates are a serious problem at 54.2% for primary education (Grades 7 and 8) and 38.54% for secondary education (Grades 9-12). For those who progress to secondary education, fewer girls compared to boys complete lower and upper secondary education. For example, UNESCO (2011) data show that, in 2009, completion rates for Grade 9 boys were 56.9% and for girls 48.4%; the completion rate for Grade 12 boys was 22.3% compared

2 Bantu is a group of African languages spoken in greater parts of Africa south of the Equator (see Doke, 1954; Nurse and Philippson, 2002).

to 17.4% for girls. It is important to remember that there are fewer girls who get to Grade 12. Young women's access to education is still a big challenge, and the gender parity index in secondary education is 0.82 (United Nations Development Programme, 2010).

In Lusaka province there are about 92 schools (76 urban and 16 rural) classified as secondary schools. Of these, 32 are government, 54 private, 5 government-aided, and 1 community owned. The secondary schools vary in the grades they offer: 30 schools offer Grades 8 to 12; 45 offer Grades 1 to 12, and 17 offer Grades 10 to 12. The average age range of Grades 10 to 12 is 16-18 years.

The High School curriculum is largely academic (see UNESCO, World Data on Education, 2006) and arguably does not prioritize sport as a core area of formal education. To support this, Meier and Saavedra (2009: p.1161) state that, in Zambia, sport is a luxury compared to other "more serious" subjects. In this context, it is interesting to explore if and how young women in school balance and sustain both education and sport participation.

2.5 Physical Education and Sport Policy

The current Zambia national sport policy, launched in 2006 and reviewed in 2009 (Chilemu, 2009), highlights sport as a very low government priority in national development programmes as opposed to formal education. The poor allocation of capital resources is evident in national budgets; for example, in 2013 about 0.40% of the national budget of Kwacha 32.2 trillion was allocated to sport, compared to 17.4% allocated to education (Chikwanda, 2012). Further, the limited investment in sports in the national budget is spent on rehabilitation and improvement of national facilities, which are mainly for male football (Chilemu, 2009). There is a separate physical education sport policy for schools, which was launched in January 2006 by the Ministry of Education. Physical Education (PE) was made compulsory for all students up to Grade 12 (Chilemu, 2009), most importantly as a result of concerns about the poor sport performance of national teams and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Physical education was made an examinable subject at Grade 7, and there were also plans to make it examinable at Grades 9 and 12 in the future (Chilemu, 2009). Beyond the statements of intent, there appears to have been little effort in ensuring the implementation of this policy in sec-

ondary schools. A PE syllabus, developed with support from the United Kingdom Sport Council (UK Sport), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the British Council, has been developed but it is not readily available, and relevant teaching resources for Grades 8-12 have not been developed (Curriculum Development Unit Report, 2010). The reason why the physical education and sport policy has been rather neglected at the government level does not necessarily mean it is less important, but it may be that government is already stretched in the provision of basic academic education (Njelesani, 2012).

In the absence of an established timetable slot for PE and sport within schools, sport is usually offered as an extra-curricular activity. Extra-curricular sport is competitive, elitist and organized to get results that provide school, community and national prestige (Chepyator-Thomson, 2014). Extra-curricular competitive sports are managed by sports 'masters' at school level, and age group competitions, e.g. under 17 athletics, are promoted, organized and regulated by the Zambia Secondary Schools Sports Associations and overseen by the Zambia Head-teachers Association. Schools pay affiliation fees to the sports association and each student pays a meagre ZK25 (£2.46) per annum for extra-curricular activities, mainly for competitive sports. The sports competition structure includes intra-school, interschool and interprovincial sports competitions. The sports offered include soccer (football), volleyball, netball, athletics, rugby, basketball, table tennis and chess.

In Lusaka, young women are reported to have limited opportunities to participate in competitive sport activities organized by clubs and sports federations compared to their male peers (NOWSPAR[3], 2009). Moreover, a baseline survey of women's sports participation and representation conducted by NOWSPAR (2009) for policy advocacy and programme development, suggested that competitive sport for women did not have a robust structure and was not receiving meaningful government and private sector support. The survey also highlighted ideological, structural and material constraints on female sport at all levels. According to NOWSPAR (2009), females remained underrepresented, invisible and poorly resourced.

3 NOWSPAR is an acronym for National Organisation for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation, a non-governmental organization based in Lusaka that conducts advocacy and awareness to enhance the participation of women in sport. It has a membership comprised of individuals, community groups, education and sports associations.

The Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Youth and Sport for the Second Session of the Eleventh National Assembly appointed on 27 September 2012, described some of the problems bedevilling sport. These were listed as inadequate funding, decline of physical education and sport in schools, reduced commitment to sport by government, neglected facilities, and lack of equipment and trained coaches (Zambia Parliamentary Committee on Youth and Sport, 2012 report). The weak policy, limited budgets, facilities, equipment, and teaching/learning materials, and pressure to implement academic subject and HIV/AIDS education, have produced conditions that make it difficult for schools to implement sport programmes for all students (Chilemu, 2009; Njelesani, 2012).

2.6 Sports for Development

A significant component of the Zambian government's physical education and sport policy is the recognition of the potential contribution of sport in addressing HIV/AIDS and gender equality (Musangeya, 2010; Njelesani, 2012). Zambia's government is addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic through national strategies to reduce poverty and increase education. Apart from this policy support there is no government funding for sport for development. A disparate range of local community organizations and non-governmental organizations, such as EduSport, Sport in Action, Grassroots Soccer and Right to Play, supported by international donors, have stepped in using football, netball, basketball, volleyball, traditional games and dance for HIV/AIDS education and gender equality (Njelesani *et al*., 2014). Examples of international donor support include the partnership between the Wallace Group (the Universities of Bath, Durham, Loughborough, Northumbria, Stirling and Cardiff Metropolitan University) and UK Sport, launched in 2006 to support Sport in Action's and EduSport's work against HIV/AIDS in Lusaka. Through UK Sport's IDEALS (International Development of Excellence and Leadership through Sport) project, university students from the UK travel to Lusaka in teams of six, each team spending a four-week period delivering sports activities on the ground. Their focus is on using sport for personal and social development in a context of poverty, unemployment, crime, exclusion, and health risks including HIV/AIDS. The students use their coaching experiences in the UK for delivering sport in addition to awareness sessions about HIV/AIDS.

Also in 2007, the British Council introduced Youth Sport Leadership (Dreams and Teams), an intervention that used sport to develop young leaders in Lusaka and other regions in Zambia. In implementing the project, the British Council worked with the Ministry of Education and provincial education authorities. The project had a cascade model of training teachers as tutors who trained young people - 14 to 19-year-olds selected from participating schools - to become young sport leaders. The young people were trained in leadership, coaching and citizenship skills. After training, the young sport leaders formed clubs and used their leadership and sport skills to organize sports coaching sessions, games and festivals for peers and younger pupils within their own schools or at local secondary and primary schools. In addition to youth sport leadership, Edusport's Go Sisters project, funded by UK Aid and Comic Relief and advised by UK Sport, teaches girls leadership, coaching, refereeing, team building and playing skills in soccer, volleyball, basketball and netball. Edusport claims these skills help young women to become competent, confident, able and inspirational leaders and players. It is also claimed that the young women become champions on the key issues of HIV awareness and women's rights. There is, however, a paucity of research on the effect of using sport as a tool to provide HIV/AIDS education and to achieve gender equality.

While evaluation reports on sport for development interventions suggest that sport can contribute to the empowerment of young women and gender equality (Kay *et al*., 2013), there is limited strategic partnership among agencies in using sport as a tool for development in Zambia (Lindsey and Banda, 2011). Sports for development interventions also tend to marginalize young people in planning activities (Nicholls, 2009; Jeanes *et al*., 2013).

2.7 Summary

Zambia, a developing country facing economic challenges, widespread poverty and gender inequalities in all sectors of development, was the location of this study as a result of both personal and professional interests. National sport policy in Zambia has not been effectively implemented in the education sector mainly because schools focus on academic education, and broadly due to financial, infrastructural and human resource constraints. Notwithstanding this lack of policy, the delivery of a core component of national sport policy being implemented by NGOs is sport for development. As such, Lusaka, Zambia was a suitable site for me to explore the intersections and interactions of

four key ideas of sport, education, gender, and development, which helped me to explore and explain young women's engagement with sports. The next chapter reviews literature around the four concepts as they relate to young women's sports participation, and raises research questions that are summarized at the end of the chapter.

3
Sport, Gender, Education and Development

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I look at the intersections and interactions of four key concepts, namely sport, gender, education and development, using critical, functionalist and interventionist theories of sport proffered by Coakley and Dunning (1999). I begin by discussing a sociological perspective of sport showing how sport connects to the broader social and cultural life in societies. Within the connectivity between sport, social and cultural life, I highlight how sport intersects and interacts with the concept of gender, which is central to this thesis. This is followed by a section that reviews literature from the Global North on sport in secondary education, with a focus on the intersections and interactions between sport, education and gender, which are key elements of my professional concerns with young women's engagement with sports.

In reviewing the literature I briefly look at the education purpose and benefits of sport to young people, and then move to review young women's sports participation patterns. The dependence on literature from the North is because there is a dearth of literature in Africa and Zambia on sport, and in particular on gender and sport. This thesis adds to knowledge in this area.

Following the discussion on sport, education and gender, I turn to a discussion on the intersections and interactions between the concepts of sport, development and gender. More specifically, against the backdrop of aspirations of the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace's (UNOSDP) global policy framework which defines the relationship between sports and development and in particular the presumed positive impact of sport on Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 3 (gender equality and women empowerment) and the personal and social development of young people (Right to Play, 2008). This thesis adds to knowledge in the area of sport for development. Towards the end of this chapter I highlight research gaps that help in supporting my approach to researching young women's engagement with sport in Zambia. The chapter concludes with the main research questions. This is followed in Chapter 4 with the details of the research methodology, methods and analysis.

3.2 Sport

Sport is a globalized, celebrated but contested phenomenon whose origins are located in the Global North (Giulianotti, 2004; Shehu, 2010). People are believed to gain physical, social and mental benefits from participation in sport (Roper, 2013) hence the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Charter 1978 and various United Nations conventions universalize sport as a fundamental human right. Sport as a right is assumed to be accessed informally through spontaneous play and formally through education (Okada and Young, 2011). UN conventions, however, do not formally bind or oblige governments, social institutions or education to make sport, or the right to sport, accessible to all people. Moreover, sport tends to suffer political neglect and marginalization in community development and education curricular of some developing nations (Okada and Young, 2011). In some social and education contexts where sport is not a priority, sport as a right or right to sport is an ideal, a promise or just a possibility. Globalized sport has different meanings to different people in different contexts, and people participate in sport for diverse reasons. Jeu (1972) described the ordinary person's understanding of sport as any competitive physical activity where the human body's effort produces emotions of victory or defeat governed by universal laws and rules. This understanding suggests sport is a natural or body activity where one has talent (biological) and has moments of high emotion (psychological) in performing it. This biopsychological perspective (Smoll and Smith, 1996) suggests that sport is based on the body's biological and psychological foundations.

In Europe, Article 2 of the European Sports Charter of 1992 revised on 16 May 2001 (Council of Europe, 2012, page 2), provides some definition of sport as:

> ....all forms of physical activity (including mental, motorised and animal) which, through casual or organized participation, aim(s) at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming relationships or obtaining results in competitions at all levels.

This Council of Europe definition moves beyond the psychological and emotional to suggest other characteristics, such as that sport is any physical activity that is performed for recreation, health and fitness, or for getting results in competition. Interestingly it

does not specify how these come about and appears to be inclusive of activities done spontaneously, casually or through formal structures, rules and regulations.

A more sophisticated and nuanced description of sport is offered by Kirk (1999) who, from a critical sociological perspective, explains sport as physical activities created and defined by people and therefore part of a physical culture where people's bodies are central to performing it. Further, Kirk (1999) has argued that sport is a social phenomenon in which the human body's performance and the physical activity it performs are socially constructed rather than biologically determined. Physical culture can be understood as "the meanings, values and social practices concerned with maintenance, representation and regulations of the body" (Wright, 2004, p.183).

Critical feminists (Coakley and Dunning, 1999) go beyond the conceptualization of sport as cultural activities. They look at the power and social relations embedded in sport as they argue that physical activities and sports that have high status and value are those that are historically and culturally defined and shaped by masculine values and experiences rooted in celebrating male strength, power, aggression and competition (Hall, 1996; McKay *et al*., 2000; Bourg and Gouguet, 2010). In support of this assertion, Hall (2002) has suggested that the dominant sports ideology undervalues physical activities practised by females rooted in ideals of aesthetics, recreation, health, cooperation and play. Implied within the valuing of male physical activities from the Global North are presumptions, not only of the superiority of Northern physical culture (Giulianotti, 2004), but also male superiority and women's inferior social position (Jay, 1997; Anderson, 2008). This is to suggest that sport is a form of cultural and social practice that valorizes the power and privilege of males and produces marginalization and social exclusion of women (Creedon, 1994; Connell, 1995; Coakley, 1998; Markula and Pringle, 2006).

My main argument in this section is that a shift from the biological and psychological to the sociological view of sport helps in understanding how the notion, purpose and organization of sport is embedded in the ideas, values, experiences and power of men. A critical sociological perspective argues that sports are cultural activities tied to power and social relations; that in men's sports are counted, valued and perpetuated. That qualifications and celebrations in competitive sports are based on attributes and outcomes associated with ideal masculinity (Birrell, 2000).

Such sociological understanding is important to this study that is focusing on young women and the social and cultural dimensions that frame their inclusion, exclusion, restrictions or marginalization in sports participation based on, for example, gender and ability. So in the case of young women in secondary schools in Lusaka, I wanted to find out not only what sports they played but also the notion of sport in their schools.

3.3 Sport and Gender

A critical view sees sports as socially and culturally constructed (Coakley and Donnelly, 1999). The bodies that perform sports or physical activities are not just biological, empty and fixed. They have material, historical, social, cultural and corporeal dimensions and practices that define social and cultural relations in sport (Butler, 1990; Hall, 1996; Mikosza and Philips, 1999; Light, 2001; Light and Kirk, 2001; Allen-Collinson, 2009; Woodward, 2009). Bodies are social or social practices are embodied; according to Turner (1996, xiii), embodiment is, "the making and doing work of bodies- of becoming a body in social space". Foucault (1979, p.77) suggested that the social construction of the body is based on:

> The mechanisms of power that frame the everyday lives of individuals; an adaptation and a refinement of the machinery that assumes responsibility for and places under surveillance their everyday behaviour, their identity, their activity, their apparently unimportant gestures.

A study that deals with gender, social and cultural dimensions of young women's participation in sports needs to examine embodiment by exploring how young women describe, feel and articulate their embodied identities within the context of sports.

Sport and physical activities are largely masculine and they teach or reproduce male values that devalue and constrain women's participation (see Pfister, 2010; Jay, 1997; Connell, 1995). Sport is therefore gendered (Connell, 1995; Pfister, 2010), and studies in the history of sport show the dominance of men in creating and defining physical activities and setting sport rules and structures (Coakley, 2007). According to Parratt (1994), gender is a continuously changing social, cultural and historical construct that is used to categorize a set of behaviours deemed by society to be appropriate for men and women. Men and women learn how to perform these behaviours that align to societal expectations in their daily lives.

So how does gender relate to sport? The gendered nature of sport starts with the sex-based segregation between male and female sports and becomes more visible in 'doing' sport skills, gestures, movements, and expressions. Doing sport in a male or female way is a result of everyday, disciplined repetition within the 'heterosexual matrix' (Butler, 1990, 1993). Within that heterosexual mix the female body is constantly subject to policing and Bartky's (1990) theorising of Woman-as-Panopticon illustrates how, in sport, patriarchal culture shapes women's self-policing and performance of feminine physicality. Culturally forced self-awareness relating to physicality is said to limit females in doing bodily movements or physical activity, e.g. the way they walk or kick a ball. To add further complexity, Woodward (2009) also suggests that what people can or cannot do in sport, or how they talk about their bodies, is socially or culturally influenced. The bodies are regulated, evaluated, classified, and measured by other bodies (people) with power and privilege to do so embedded in governing organizations and structures (Woodward, 2009).

The association of high level competitive sport with men has left some high performing female athletes being queried about their sex, gender and sexuality, and subjected to gender testing to confirm if they are male or female. For example, on 19 August 2009, Caster Semenya, a South African athlete, was ordered by the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) to undergo gender tests after winning a gold medal in the 800 metres running event (Cooky and Dworkin, 2013). After gender tests, Caster was initially banned by the IAAF from participating in athletics when tests showed high levels of testosterone. She was reinstated after a year when a panel of medical experts convinced the IAAF that she could compete as a woman.

Such handling of the issue by the IAAF is a very strong reminder to us that gender norms remain embedded in competitive sport. Although regulated by an International Sport Federation with a code of ethics, and guided by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) charter with its explicit value of 'fair play', this example of gender testing is inhuman, contentious and worrying. The IAAF silence that greeted Semenya's reinstatement does not make us optimistic that inhuman, oppressive and damaging gender norms can be undone.

My understanding of gender is based on Butler's (1990, 1993) idea of performativity that refers gender to the acting out of male or female identity in many different sets of

social arrangements that regulate how males or females should live and at the same time divides people into two or more categories. My use of gender as a category of analysis is not a lack of awareness of the connections between gender and other categories of experience relating to class, race, disability and so on. It is important when researching women's participation in sport to look beyond the category of gender. For example, Hargreaves (2000) and Jones (2001, 2003) looked at females' racialized experiences of sport in apartheid South Africa, and Pelak (2005, 2006) studied how females in South Africa have used football to resist racial and gender inequalities. Feminist post-structural, post-colonial and queer theories recognize difference within the gender category of women (Flintoff, 2008). The concept of gender is seen as shifting and fluid, intersecting with other identities such as class, race, ethnicity and sexuality (Flintoff *et al*., 2008). The reason for this study's focus on gender was due to my professional interest in the political agenda of gender equality and empowerment of women in and through sport.

In this section I have, through critical feminist theory, shown that sports are not perfect and do not always lead to positive outcomes (LaVoi and Kane, 2011). Sports tend to reconstruct and reinforce social ideologies, discriminatory and violent practices based on gender, sexuality, race, class and so on (Roper, 2013). I have highlighted that power and gender relations (Cockburn and Clark, 2002) shape women's participation in sports. In the case of young women's engagement with sport in Lusaka, it was important to look at sport participation through the concept of gender as a category of analysis. The question I had was whether power and gendered relations shaped their sport choices, the way they 'did' sport in public, their status, sport chances and outcomes compared to men, and whether male power was superior and privileged (Reeves and Baden, 2000).

3.4 Sport, Education and Gender

Since my study focused on young women who were in school, it was important to review literature on sport in education and to establish whether gender plays a part in young women's sport participation patterns. In reviewing the literature I looked at the notion and justification of sport in education, how sport is organized in secondary education, and what research says about young women's sports participation patterns.

Education is a human right and young people should have equal opportunities to learn, free from any discrimination (UNESCO, 2012). Similarly, as already stated in Section

3.2 above, sport, physical activities and opportunities to play are recognized as a human right (UNESCO Charter of 1978 and IOC Charter), and from a functionalist perspective (Coakley and Dunning, 1999) important for optimum human development. So sport is inextricably intertwined with holistic education (UNESCO, 2005; Bailey, 2006; Ozoliņš and Stolz, 2013). The contestable Latin aphorism *mens sana in corpore sano* (healthy mind in a healthy body) has, in spite of the false binary it created between the mind and the body, continued to be the rationale for physical education and sport in education contexts (Young, 2005). Beyond that mantra, school sport is a platform for values education (Delgado and Gómez, 2011).

From an education perspective, physical education and sport is justified in secondary schools for its benefits in four broad domains: physical, social, affective and cognitive (Bailey *et al*., 2013). To elaborate, sport in schools is believed to enable students to acquire and develop physical skills and abilities, develop socially, emotionally and psychologically, improve thinking skills, concentration and arousal, which in turn directly or indirectly contribute to academic achievement (UNESCO, 2005; Coleman *et al*., 2008; Bailey *et al*., 2009; Youth Sport Trust, 2009; Bradley *et al*., 2013).

School sport is often offered to students as a core-curricular activity: that is, as an area of learning taught during 'normal' or curriculum time or as part of the general purpose of education. Sport is also offered to students as an extra-curricular activity, enabling them to participate in intra- and inter-school sports competitions. In addition to core-curricular and extra-curricular sport, some schools in England, for example, offer what is called sport education to teach students social and moral conduct in sport (Stephen *et al*., 2014). The main focus of sport education is teaching fair play, social justice, inclusion, responsibility, personal and social development.

While sport is viewed as a social good and educationally sound in promoting societal norms, basic values and benefits, its positive effects may be exaggerated. An observation to make here is that within physical education, core-curricular or extra-curricular sport students do not learn and understand their embodied selves (Armour 1999; Shilling, 1993a), and this gap in sport education makes many students struggle with their identities (Shilling, 1993b). More importantly schools as such reproduce socially constructed bodies (Foucault, 1979), and this is reinforced in sports where young women put their bodies on public display, are surveyed and judged by others (Fisette, 2011).

Perhaps body education can be included in sports or physical education to enable students to learn how to confront and challenge perspectives and beliefs about masculinity and femininity in sport inscribed in them. Fisette (2011) suggests that for body education to be incorporated, the disciplining ideology of education has to be challenged.

The benefits of sports described above are dependent on the education environment in terms of the status of sport in education, infrastructure, subject curriculum, material resources, pedagogical, social and cultural factors (Bailey *et al*., 2013). For example there are endless debates about the place and value of sport in a subject-based, stratified, exam-oriented education in English speaking Africa (Chepyator-Thomson, 2014) that deny or limit delivery of sport to students. Because of a paucity of research in this area in Africa, little is known if these benefits of physical education and sport apply in the context of secondary schools in the Global South. As is the situation of High Schools in Zambia (see Chapters 2 and 5) sport is an extra-curricular activity, has low status, and is under-resourced, so one would not expect the broad benefits identified by Bailey *et al*., (2013) to apply to students in Zambia. Sport in Zambia is mainly about competitions, and what is valued is talent with the accompanying excitement and pride of winning trophies, medals and prize money (Chepyator-Thomson, 2014).

The benefits of sports are also dependent on whether children and young people have sports opportunities in and outside school or engage with sports. Many children and young people in the Global North are not physically active and shun sports (Yungblut *et al*., 2012): there is growing concern about activity levels of young people from a health perspective (Biddle *et al*., 2004). There is more concern about the sport and physical activity levels of young women as they are less active compared to young men, and their participation decreases with the onset of adolescence (Biddle *et al*., 2004; Whitehead and Biddle, 2008). Some researchers suggest that either barriers or negative experiences of sports force some young people, especially women, to walk away from sports (see Coakley, 1992; David, 2005; Stirling, 2008; Farstad, 2007; Killick, 2009).

One of the barriers is that young people have little input in deciding the scope of core-curricular and extra-curricular sport activities (O'Sullivan and MacPhail, 2010). There is a clear indication that young people's views, thoughts and experiences are not always at the heart of decision-making in sport and physical activity provision (O'Sullivan and

MacPhail, 2010). Bigelow *et al*. (2001, p.1) bemoan how adults are disconnected from children's needs:

> There is a disconnect between what adults say versus what children want and need to hear. What adults want and need from youth sport is often not what children want and need. It's as though the adults and children live in different worlds and speak different languages.

Compared to their male peers, young women have less voice and are invisible in sport (Burnett, 2002; Duncan and Hasbrook, 2002; UN, 2007; Nicholls, 2009; International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2012; Lapchick, 2012; Jeanes, 2011b; Smith and Wrynn, 2013). As a consequence young women do not have a wide choice of sports to play and, consequently, are limited in opportunities to understand and develop their own sense of being (Batchelor 2006; MacBeath, 2006). Education researchers have argued for the inclusion of student's feelings, thoughts, views and experiences in education curricula (Batchelor, 2006; MacBeath, 2006; Gunter and Thomson, 2007; Robinson and Taylor, 2007) as subjects of their own and others' learning (Gunter and Thomson, 2007), suggesting such inclusion of their 'voice' liberates and empowers students (Fisette, 2013). Interest in young people's lives, thoughts and experiences is stimulated by legal and political initiatives (e.g., the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child), and by theoretical developments in education and social science disciplines (Tangen, 2008). Recently there has been a growing body of work that has started exploring young people's views and experiences in sport and physical activity (O'Sullivan and MacPhail, 2010), highlighting its importance for developments in the field of practice.

In addition to the lack of voices in sport, it is known from quantitative studies in the Global North that use Bandura's (1986) social-cognitive theory and North American health research approaches (Brackenridge, 2007), that young women face personal, social and environmental barriers to participating in sports. Some of the reasons that have been suggested as pushing young women away from sport and physical activity include lack of interest, pressure from friends and peers to opt for different types of popular culture, constraints in their physical environment, e.g. lack of equipment and suitable facilities, and that they have no innate talent and have not reached the biological, psychological and cognitive maturation that enables them to play sport with competence and confidence (Weiss and Glenn, 1992; Fraser-Thomas *et al*., 2008; Yungblut *et al*., 2012).

These explanations given of why young women shun sports tend to focus on the individual and not cultural or ideological barriers. Feminist perspectives have filled this knowledge gap by suggesting that competitive school sports tend to produce and reproduce gendered social patterns and ideologies (Bain, 1975, 1976; Griffin, 1983, 1984, 1985a, b, c; Kirk, 1998; Fernandez-Balboa, 1997; Azzarito and Ennis, 2003), which make sports 'uncool' to young women as they increasingly become self-aware of how their gendered bodies are expected to appear and behave with the onset of adolescence (Pfister, 2010). Many young women are concerned with and feel embarrassed displaying their bodies in sport settings in ways that can be regarded as contrary to more physically demure performances associated with dominant forms of femininity (Evans, 2006; Garret, 2004; Frost, 2001).

From adolescence onwards, young women are under public surveillance as they are expected to appear and behave in a heterosexual feminine way when they 'do' sport (Wright, 1997, 2000; Wright and King, 1995; Azzarito, 2009). Young women who cannot navigate or negotiate the surveillance and judgements of their sport performance by administrators, teachers, peers and spectators quit sport (Evans, 2006; Cockburn and Clarke, 2002; Garrett, 2004; Frost, 2001). Importantly here, school sports are a key site for the display of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Mac an Ghaill *et al*., 2001; Froh *et al*., 2002), and reinforce the inferiority and powerlessness of young women (see Scraton, 1992; Hargreaves, 1994; Oliver and Lalik; 2000; Cockburn and Clarke, 2002; Penney, 2002; Branham, 2003; Evans *et al*., 2004; Hills, 2006; Aitchison, 2007; Wellard, 2007; Evans *et al*., 2008; Clark, 2009). This should hardly be surprising as historically and culturally gendered sports were incorporated into the education curriculum by males for males (Hill, K.L., 1993). School sports have a strong regulatory effect as students begin to frame their identities and appropriate social behaviour as young women and men.

Playing spaces magnify and reinforce the inferior status of women. There are research studies that have elaborated how the playing spaces in schools are dominated by males (Vertinsky, 1997, 2004; Brady, 2005). At schools in Southern Africa, Dunne (2007, p. 506) made similar observations that in the sports space, "While girls gathered together in small groups, mostly on the periphery, the boys often took up more space in the playing field". Young women have therefore limited or unequal access to sports.

While the global position is that fewer young women compared to their male peers participate in sports, there is an acceptance that women are increasingly taking up sports. Policy-oriented research suggests that there is a significant increase in women participating in sports that can be explained as due to liberal feminist efforts that have led to policy and institutional changes (see Scraton *et al*., 1999). Similar research by the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2008) suggests that young women are engaging with sport as policy and social action reduce practical barriers, e.g. limited time, access to equipment, playgrounds and unsuitable clothing; personal barriers, e.g. revealing clothes; and socio-cultural barriers, e.g. prejudices about sexuality, sexual harassment and abuse.

In Scandinavian and some other European countries, for example Germany, Netherlands and Belgium, surveys on the impact of equality policies have shown numbers of young women participating in sport equalling or exceeding that of men (Pfister, 2010). Such an increase in participation is, however, criticized because the surveys focus largely on 'female friendly activities' such as walking, dancing and Zumba or aerobics. To support this assertion, both survey and interpretive studies from the North show that young women choose female friendly sport instead of competitive and aggressive sport (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Azzarito *et al*., 2006; Azzarito and Solmon, 2009). Social, cultural and religious reasons have been identified to explain young women's choices of less aggressive sports (see Scraton, 1992; Hargreaves, 1994; Oliver and Lalik, 2000; Cockburn and Clarke, 2002; Penney, 2002; Branham, 2003; Evans *et al*., 2004; Hills, 2006; Aitchison, 2007; Wellard, 2007; Evans *et al*., 2008; Clark, 2009).

Young women are reported to be involuntarily socialized into different types of lesser valued feminine sports, events and competitions (UN, 2007). A more nuanced reason is that young women dislike the competitive, male-dominated sports because such sports 'are not cool' (Slater and Tiggemann, 2010a) as they undermine their ideal feminine body appearance or image (see, for example, Sleap and Wormald, 2001; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Flintoff, 2008). Men are said to reinforce this in public discourses by suggesting competitive and aggressive sports are not appropriate for young women (Slater and Tiggemann, 2010b). This research evidence and analysis clearly suggests how young women's engagement with sport is influenced by the gendered social and cultural values placed on sport (Clark *et al*., 2011).

While there appear to be some potential gains through policy and social action, there is continuing debate in which liberal feminists are criticized by post-structural feminists for ignoring structural relations of power (Hargreaves, 1994). In developing countries, Groenmeyer and Engh (2010) argue that, apart from homophobic and heteronormative attitudes, young women who play sport face challenges at both grassroots and elite levels that relate to limited access to resources and playing spaces, lack of player payment, and the inability of female sports to attract corporate sponsorship and government support. Liberal feminists are also criticized for failing to see differences among women (Flintoff, 2008; Flintoff *et al*., 2008). There are young women who are said to be socialized, encouraged and supported by significant others such as parents and friends to participate in traditionally male sports like the marathon, football, cycling and combat sports such as boxing, weightlifting, and so on (Pfister, 2010). There are young women who are attracted by the high status, more valued and financially rewarding male sports compared to undervalued female sports (Birell and Theberge, 1994; Duncan and Messner, 2000; Knoppers and Elling, 2001).

Young women in the Global North play sports for a number of reasons that include early positive experiences of sport (Cote *et al*., 2003; Sport England, 2006); personal choices (Corder *et al*., 2013); complex psychological issues such as self-confidence and ability to play (Yungblut *et al*., 2012), established between the ages of 11 and 14 years (Kirk, 2005); and social reasons that include socialization and influence by role models (Sport England, 2006; Whitehead and Biddle, 2008; Meier and Saavedra, 2009), friends, family and socio-economic status (Dagkas and Stathi, 2007; Coleman *et al*., 2008; Downward *et al*., 2009).

Young women who stay in sport see benefits of participation that include the need to stay in shape, to be healthy and well, to improve appearance, to socialize, have fun and release stress (UN, 2007; Robbins, et al., 2009). It is also argued that young women who stay in sport either adhere to feminine body image discourses, in order to be accepted, visible and successful in sport (Kolnes, 1995; William and Bedward, 2002; Gorely *et al*., 2003; Fisette, 2011; Slater and Tiggemann, 2010b; Welton *et al*., 2013), or have agency that enables them to resist social structures (Jary and Jary, 1991). Young women are said to have the capacity to navigate and negotiate constraints of the social institutions in which they find themselves (McDermott, 1996). This suggests that young wo-

men who play sport are active agents (Jary and Jary, 1991; Coakley and White, 1992; McDermott, 1996).

In this section my main argument has been that a non-critical view of sports in schools only looks at the benefits and tends to ignore that sport is socially and culturally constructed and practiced. Gender and sport studies in the Global North are helpful in showing young women's sports participation patterns and explaining their sports choices, benefits and barriers. While the studies show that young women's participation in sport is a complex subject, they argue that the gender order in society and the regulating and socializing influence of the school, the family and the community on appropriate gender behaviour and forms of femininity and masculinity are all pervasive. Sport in schools constitutes an educational and social environment in which gender norms are constructed and reconstructed. Those who deviate from these norms expose themselves to various forms of exclusion and revulsion (Butler, 1990; Dunne, 2007).

In the case of young women participating in sport in Lusaka secondary schools, my questions were what sports do they play, under what conditions and why; what do they value and see as benefits from their engagement with sport; what barriers do they face and to what extent does gender play a part.

3.5 Sport, Development and Gender

In recognizing that sport has inherent benefits and that a broad notion of sport has opportunities for development, there has been a shift to using sport as a tool for achieving education, health, peace and development goals, especially around gender equity and women's empowerment. In the Global North a wide notion of sport is, in addition to the education rationale, that it is believed to contribute to positive personal and social development among young people (Burt, 1998; Lawson, 1995, 1997). These arguments include that participation in physical activity can help an individual's confidence and self-worth (Nichols, 1997), enhance positive social-moral development (Larson and Silverman, 2005), inculcate a sense of personal and social responsibility (Hellison, 1995; Lawson, 1997; Martinek *et al*., 2006), and in solving problems of disadvantage and social exclusion through the creation of social capital (Bailey, 2005; Crabbe, 2006). In England, for example, the physical education and sport strategy of the New Labour government showed a belief that sports could be used as a tool to combat social exclusion,

targeting the underrepresented groups and those in poor areas, reduce crime, build stronger communities, and combat obesity (Musangeya, 2010).

There is also a belief in the Global North that suggests physical activities and sports can be used as tools for positively developing young women's embodiment as active, fit and strong and not passive objects (Tebelius, 2001). While a detailed discussion about this is impossible in the restricted space here, it is fair to say that the use of sport as a strategy for gender equality and empowerment of young women has been gaining recognition worldwide. Researchers (see MacKinnon, 1987; Theberge, 1987; Whitson, 1994; Hall, 1996; Coakley and White, 1992; Kindlon, 2006; Heywood, 2007; Beutler, 2008) have examined the potential for women's positive physicality through sport, which they suggest empowers them to successfully challenge feminine ideals, navigate and renegotiate gender stereotypes and expectations (Dwyer *et al*., 2006; Azzarito *et al*., 2006). Deem and Gilroy (1998), Garrett (2004), Cockburn and Clarke (2002) and Hills (2007), also suggest that sport can be a site where young females can feel empowered if they feel positive about their embodiment and perceived competence in competitive sport.

In developing countries or in the Global South there is a movement called sport for development and peace (SDP) targeting young people in schools and communities. The origins of the SDP movement are not well known, but the field has gained momentum in the last ten years through support from the United Nations (UN). Kidd (2008) suggests that SDP is not a one-off project; it is championed by the United Nations and has agencies and significant partners such as the International Olympic Committee. SDP employs interventions that use sport as a tool in pursuit of education and development goals. The movement has been growing and gaining widespread policy support since the United Nations declared 2005 as the International Year of Physical Education and Sport (Kay, 2009; Levermore, 2008; Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2008). There is no precise agreement as to what the instrumental use of sport in this way should be called, but there is an emerging discourse known as sport and development, sport for development, development through sport, sport in development, or sport for change. It is possible to use all the terms interchangeably in this relatively new but growing field; in this thesis I prefer to use the notion of sport for development.

The sport for development field employs the broadest notion of sport ranging from play, recreational activities, traditional games and dances to competitive forms of physical activity and sports. This wide-scoped, and rather imprecise notion of sport, allows for the addition of development objectives or integration of sport into development objectives in a variety of sociocultural settings and their peculiarities. The sport for development concept is, however, problematic as, in my view, development is a concept that has multiple and ambiguous meanings. I take Hartmann and Kwauk's (2011) understanding of development where they suggest development as ranging from human civilization; individual socialization and growth through all life stages, to the broader, universal and planned uplifting of poor nations or communities through transforming their social, economic, political and material conditions. I have no space in this thesis to critique the various meanings and understandings of development. My interest is on sport for development in which there are two main conceptualizations: functionalist (Coakley, 2007) and interventionist theories (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011).

The dominant conception of sport for development is functionalist: sport is believed to positively contribute to society (Coakley, 2007), and is an effective vehicle for individual development through disciplining values and life skills inherent in sport (Right to Play, 2008; UNICEF, 2004). The values and skills are acquired through coaching and competition where rules have to be respected (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). Development in this functionalist perspective is about social control and self-improvement (Donnelly *et al*., 2011). To clarify, sport for development in this context means using sport for disciplining and social engineering of disaffected groups and creating social capital that is believed to enable individuals and communities to lift themselves out of poverty (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011).

Such conceptualization of sport for development needs to be treated with caution as sport tends to be blindly seen as a universal public good and that all population groups benefit from sport equally. Sport as both social and commercial practice can be misused, ineffective and counterproductive. Sport cannot be seen as a perfect or empty tool as we know it is historically, culturally and politically embodied. Its use has to be context specific in terms of suitability of forms of sport, adequacy of resources, and the use appropriate learning and coaching methods. In addition, conceptualization of sport as perfect

or empty fails to recognize that the social construction of sport discussed earlier in this chapter privileges males and disadvantages females.

The interventionist approach (Fraser and Galinksy, 2010) mainly practised in the Global South has been understood by Coalter (2009) as *sport plus*, where development objectives are just added to sport development objectives, not given the seriousness they deserve, and *plus sport*, where sport is added on to development objectives and interventions. The sport plus perspective is centred in sport studies and not development studies (Darnell and Black, 2011), whereas the latter focuses more on development objectives and less on sport. There is no agreement as to what counts in sport plus and plus sport. Currently, and rather uncritically both conceptualizations tend to use interventions that target young people, arguing that, through sport, they can: develop self-efficacy and self-esteem, change their gendered attitudes so that they are actively involved in addressing gender inequities, increase awareness about HIV/AIDS so that they can change their sexual behaviours, develop leadership skills so that they become volunteers or responsible citizens (Brady and Khan, 200; Brady, 2005, 2010; Koss and Alexandrova, 2005; Maro *et al*., 2009; UNESCO, 2012; Right to Play, 2008; Coalter, 2010; Kay, 2013), and that they can be empowered through sport (Right to Play, 2008).

What is clear is that sport plus and plus sport approaches both use sport to hook on socializing experiences that promote personal and social development valued by the donor organizations from the Global North (Coakley, 2011). In this sense, sports can provide, at times and in different contexts, a necessary but insufficient experiential basis for producing desired developmental outcomes; this is because both approaches tend to be immersed in a self-control/deficit-reduction approach to development (Coakley, 2002; Coalter, 2010).

In this thesis these connections between sport and development were used as part of the framing of the research. Given the national policy objectives of sport for development in Zambia described in Chapter 2, I narrowed down the conceptualizations of sport for development to sport for personal and social development, HIV/AIDS awareness, gender equality and women's empowerment. In terms of gender equality, I took the argument by Reeves and Baden (2000) that considers how oppressive masculine culture in sport and development discriminates against women, limits and reduces their access to power

and resources, and forces them to achieve unequal status and less equivalence in life outcomes compared to men.

The term empowerment has been defined in many ways ranging from young women having confidence, self-worth, strength, courage and determination to resist oppressive patriarchal power, make strategic choices or decisions; to young women having collective power to fight inequalities and injustice or power within young women that enables them to have control over societal structures and material resources (Theberge, 1987;Rowlands, 1995, 1997, 1998; Ansell, 2005). I drew my understanding of empowerment from Rowlands' (1995, 1997, and 1998) and Ansell's (2005) ideas that identify the work of oppressive power in preventing empowerment and rights of marginalized groups. Education and, more recently, sport are seen as having the potential to contribute to individual and group empowerment (Rowlands, 1998; Right to Play, 2008). There are four aspects of power suggested: (a) power over other people or groups; (b) power to do something or make decisions; (c) collective power; and (d) power from within (Rowlands, 1997, 1998). Rowlands' conceptualization suggests that empowerment is possible when individuals or groups have access to the four types of power. So it is important to ask here if sport for development interventions have empowerment opportunities and processes that enable women to have power over men to challenge the patriarchal power affecting them, have the power to decide what they want in life, associate with others, have collective power as women, and have power from within the multiple, shifting and fluid category of woman? Within teams or groups do women develop 'critical consciousness' (Freire, 1993) and take action to address gendered sport? Do they develop confidence, self-esteem, self-belief and ability to make decisions about issues that affect their lives?

Based on her own experiences of bodybuilding, Heywood (1998) suggested that young women get a sense of empowerment by developing fit, healthy and strong bodies through sport. Other researchers, like Kirk and Gorely (2000), Kirk (2005, 2006) and Azzarito (2010), who explored young women's engagement with high performance sport competitions, observed that young women felt empowered when teachers and coaches used appropriate pedagogy and resources . From a sport for development perspective the UN (2007) claims that sport can be used to achieve gender equity and so-

cial empowerment of women. In support of this assertion, Women Win (2012, p.6) suggests that:

> Involvement in sport and physical activity can, for example, build life skills, confidence and body awareness and may create social networks, which result in dramatic positive life changes for participants. We have seen that involvement in sport and physical activity can positively change existing gender norms and help girls and women move into public spaces.

Sport for development researchers are looking at how to evidence the impact of sport, especially how sport for development tackles gender inequalities and empowerment (see Kay, 2009; Meier and Saavedra, 2009; Saavedra, 2009).

The functionalist and interventionist theoretical insights from the realm of SDP studies maintain the argument that sport is a public good that, under certain conditions in specific contexts, can be used to contribute towards gender equality and empowering girls and young women. I argue that sport for development interventions offer on one hand a potential site to expose vividly the strategies of gender that perpetuate sport as inherently and ideologically masculine. On the other hand, sport for development interventions offer young women sites that are less formal and opportunities to disrupt male advantage and dominance. These arguments need to be supported by research evidence.

In sport for development projects, it is anecdotally suggested that there are young women who could be referred to as the "future girl" (Harris, 2004) - the kind of young woman who is celebrated for her determination and confidence and who is "self-making, resilient, and flexible" (Harris, 2004, p. 6). However, there is disagreement among researchers as to whether there can be successful empowerment and gender equality through sport for development. The Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2008) expresses doubt as to how girls and women can be empowered through sport if they face serious practical, personal, social and cultural barriers compared to boys and young men. In addition, researchers like Colwell (1999), Cox and Thompson (2000) and Harris (2005) argue that dominant discourses around sport as masculine have not been disrupted. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2012) suggests that: (a) girls and women are not a single category and do not experience inequalities to the same level; (b) apart from gender norms, biological determinism is

strong in some communities; (c) women may not have developed physical literacy during their childhood; and (d) sport itself may be a barrier.

UNESCO (2012) suggests that for empowerment to succeed, action should be taken at three levels: at the macro level through policy change; at the institutional level through professional development of practitioners such as teachers, coaches and sport leaders; and at the personal and social level through addressing psychosocial issues that different girls and young women face. In addition, UNESCO calls for alternative pedagogical approaches to traditional physical education and sport. Further research is, however, needed on the relationship between physical activity and empowerment.

It is argued that sport alone does not automatically contribute to development and achievement of MDGs (Kidd, 2011). Most of the evidence on the effectiveness of sport as a tool for development or addressing MDGs is adjudged anecdotal or not robust (Spaaij, 2009; Coalter, 2010; Levermore, 2008). In addition, sport for development programmes are said to be disintegrated and lacking strategic partnership (Lindsey and Banda, 2011), poorly planned (Coalter, 2010; Levermore, 2008), lacking young people's involvement in decision making (Nicholls, 2009; Jeanes *et al*., 2013), and the impact of sport for development is over-claimed (Kidd, 2011) and at times evangelistic (Coalter, 2013).

3.6 Gaps in Research

As already stated, studies on young women's participation in sports in Africa and Zambia are very limited (Sikes and Bale, 2014; Leseth, 2014). To add to this, Meier and Saavedra (2009, p.1159) comment that "scholarly literature on the development of sport in Zambia or its interactions with gender is nearly non-existent". One can view this lack of literature on women in sport or gender and sport as another form of women's marginalization and silencing.

While it is possible to frame research informed by literature on sport, gender and education from the Global North, the dominant social-cognitive and health survey research approaches (Cahn, 1994; Jarvie and Thornton, 2012) tend to provide individual as well as distributive levels of analysis (Birrell, 1988; Hall, 1996; Connell, 2005; Messner, 2009). Quantitative research approaches are dominated by positivist epistemology and tend to be too deterministic or predictive in ways of knowing (Musangeya, 2011). In ad-

dition, the positivist approaches tend to view women as a single, normative and unproblematic category (Brackenridge, 2007). Social-cognitive theories can be critiqued as heavily focused on individuals and rational action at the expense of understandings that highlight sport as embodied and replete with cultural and social values, meanings and relations.

Dunne (2007) suggests that surveys associated with such theories produce statistical data that are not able to give deeper analytical insights, in this case into women's experiences of sport. The limitations of statistical studies are that they are used to make more macro-level generalizations that make the local social aspects of sports participation invisible, and they frame the field through the perspectives of the researcher rather than allowing the research respondents to frame the field of inquiry through their own views. As Clark *et al*. (2011) and Yungblut *et al*. (2012) assert, such analyses lack detailed understanding of how young women experience and interpret physical activity within the context of their daily lives.

To provide insights on survey data, social-ecological approaches have been used in the Global North to explain young people's participation in physical education (see Sallis and Owen, 1997, 1999; Ward *et al*., 2006) with the results of such research suggesting that their physical activity behaviours reflect a complex interplay of personal, socio-cultural and environmental factors. However, such studies have focused on physical education and not on extra-curricular sport or sport for development. Moreover researchers who use socio-ecological approaches do not capture young women's voices as a source of valuable and reliable knowledge in social science research.

Research on gender and sport in the Global North has also used a mix of feminist post-structural theories Butler (1990, 1993), Clark (1998), Wright (1995), Flintoff *et al*., (2008); post-colonial theories (King, 2012) and queer theories (Caudwell, 2007), which focus on gendered discourses and power relations in social institutions and the cultural products they create. Such studies recognize the shifting and fluid gendered identities that intersect with other variables, such as class, race and sexuality. In spite of insights from post-structural, post-colonial and queer theories in gender and physical education research (Kerry and Armour, 2000; Allen-Collinson, 2009, 2011) in the Global North, little is known about young women's lived experiences and views of sport and/ or sport for development.

Also, literature on sport for development does not capture young women's experiences and voices (Nicholls, 2009; Kay, 2009; International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2012; and Jeanes, 2013). As marginalized individuals and a population group, young women may hold unique and valuable lived experiences that, if captured in research could contribute to our current knowledge on gender and sport. It is in this vein that this thesis hoped to capture the often missed knowledge from the subjective experiences of young women who participated in sports in education and sport for development spaces. What young women experience in such contexts should be researched (Smith and Osborn, 2003) as a source of valuable knowledge in understanding how they engage with sports. Enabling young women to speak for themselves about their experiences and views of sport gives deeper insights compared to studies that focus on objective knowledge or facts, and privilege the voices of researchers.

3.7 Summary and Research questions

In this chapter, using critical, functionalist and interventionist theories of sport, I have explained the intersections and interactions between four concepts – sport, gender, education and development – that frame this study. Based largely on a review of literature from the Global North, I have explained how the interplay between sport, gender, and education impact on young women's sports participation. These studies from the Global North are important in their own right and were helpful in framing my study, but they tend to largely employ positivist research models that are embedded in the Cartesian rationality of the Western scientific thought system (Kay, 2009). In an African setting, I challenge the universality of positivist methodology and its epistemological and ontological underpinnings. I argue that deeper insights can be achieved by employing reflexive approaches that capture stories, narratives or personal accounts of young people about their experiences and views of sports participation.

My research was therefore conceived to extend existing qualitative research by gaining a deeper understanding of young women's sport experiences and views in Lusaka High Schools. On this basis, my research was structured to address the following key research questions:

1. *What sports do young women play, under what conditions and why do they opt for these sports?*

2. *What do young women value or experience as benefits of taking part in sports?*

3. *What barriers to sports participation have they experienced, how has gender played its part in this, and how have they overcome these barriers?*

4
Understanding Sport Participation by Young Women in High Schools

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline the methodology and methods used in collecting and analysing data about young women's engagement with sports. I start by discussing the epistemological and ontological positions that underpinned my choice of an interpretive phenomenological approach to this study. I then highlight how, as a researcher, I positioned myself at the interface of my research purpose, product and research subjects. Following this I describe the research design in which I argue for using a case study research design, and largely interview methods of collecting data and interpretive methods for analysing the data. Finally, I consider some of the limitations of my research methodology and methods, and then refer to the concluding chapter that reflects on my approach and my learning through this research.

4.2 Knowledge Production and Methodology

In discussing research methodology and methods, Carter and Little (2007) remind us that good qualitative research attends to the three interwoven elements of ontology, epistemology and methodology. Ontology constitutes reality and how we can understand existence (Carter and Little, 2007), epistemology is what constitutes valid knowledge, and methodology is how knowledge can be obtained (Carter and Little, 2007). This thesis is largely situated within the interpretive paradigm, which privileges subjective knowledge and views reality as socially constructed (Carter and Little, 2007). My methodology was underpinned by a view of sports as socially and culturally constructed and that what people experience is a source of knowledge. In this thesis I use Carter and Little, (2007) definition of methodology, which describes it as theory and analysis of how research should proceed. Carter and Little (2007) consider this as justifying research methods.

I chose to use a largely interview-based study as I wanted to explore the experiences and views of a group of sporty young women. I was concerned with research participants' subjectivity, first-person accounts, experience and sense-making. This implied

an interpretive phenomenological approach in order to allow me to make sense of young women's responses about their experiences of sport, the activities they took part in, their reasons for playing those sports, the benefits they received, the barriers to their participation, and the ways they overcame those barriers.

I hold the view that people who participate in sport, like the young women who participated in the research, are subjectively embodied as individuals and as a collective based on shared experiences of sports and shared social position (Elias, 1991). Young women's embodied individual and collective lived experiences (Young, 1980, 1998), in sport or physical activity, are a source of valid knowledge (Barbour, 2002; 2003). To get to that knowledge I needed to use approaches that allowed social disclosure by these young women, who are not only socially constructed and socially located but who also navigate social norms to participate in sport. The interpretive phenomenological approach seeks explanations from research participants' consciousness and subjective life experiences, from their standpoint and not from that of the researcher (Sparkes, 1992; Smith and Osborn, 2008).

I used hermeneutic phenomenology (Smith *et al*., 2009) in understanding young women's experiences of sport participation informed by interactionist sport theory; this looks at sports from the experiences and views of young women who make decisions to play (Coakley and Donnelly, 1999). As I viewed from inside the experiences of young women, I was also interested in knowing factors that influenced their sport choices or decisions to participate, the conditions they participated under and barriers they faced. So I saw the usefulness of combining interactionist theory with critical feminist sport theory, which says that sports are gendered activities, and functionalist and interventionist sport theories, which suggest that sport can be used for education and development (Coakley and Dunning, 1999). Such a combination of theories remains rather under-used in gender and sport research (Kerry and Armour, 2000; Allen-Collinson, 2009, 2011).

Smith *et al*. (2009) suggest that interpretive phenomenology is knowing through making sense of lived experiences in a specific context. Importantly it is an idiographic approach that concentrates on the particular, the contextual and emergent, rather than aspiring to make general laws, universalizing or using a nomothetic approach (Smith *et al*., 2009). Gadamer (1998) expands on this by arguing that hermeneutics is a process of

co-creation between the researcher and participants, in which construction of meaning occurs through an ideographic process of readings, reflective writing and interpretations.

In this process a researcher not only looks for understanding of the experience from a particular philosophical perspective, such as the critical feminist position, but also from his/her subjective views and those of respondents. Hermeneutic research requires self-reflexivity: actively constructing interpretations of the experience and questioning how those interpretations came about (Hertz, 1997). The researcher engages in a process of self-reflection making open his/her position, biases and assumptions, which are essential and cannot be distanced from the interpretation process.

I was particularly guided by Ryba's (2008) use of interpretive phenomenology in examining how young female athletes experienced figure skating. Fundamental to my research was an assumption that young women were active consumers or users of sport provision (Tangen, 2008). Informed by Fay (1996) and the new sociology of childhood (James *et al*., 1998; Christensen and James, 2000), I focused on the agency of the young women, and listened to their personal accounts and lived experiences. I engaged them in explaining the meaning of their individual and collective understanding and experience of sport from their 'point of view' (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975).

There are epistemological debates concerning the notion of young people's voices and experiences (see Corbett, 1998; Griffiths, 1998; Holdsworth, 1999; Lensmire, 1998) but I tried to capture the 'reality' of sport for young women in secondary school from their lived experience and their points of view (see Goudas and Biddle, 1993; Cothran and Ennis, 1998; Groves and Laws, 2000; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001). My overriding assumption was that young women are insider experts of their own experience (Smith *et al*., 2009) and can offer researchers insights or an understanding of what it is to be a 'sporty young woman'.

4.3 Researcher Position

Interpretive phenomenology requires the researcher to be located in the participants' context to enable research dialogue and to get close to insiders' perspective, knowing, of course, that this can never be fully achieved as the researcher cannot fully or completely understand the world of the respondent. Although the context and gatekeepers in the re-

search site were somewhat known to me, due to the sport projects my organization funds in Lusaka, Zambia, I did not assume I fully understood the context in terms of cultural nuances and practical realities of life. Initially I saw myself as an outsider (see Figure 4.1 below) regardless of my position as a pro-feminist and professional delivering sport development projects in Zambia. I was distant from the research participants - not a young woman, not a young person, not a high school student or member of school staff, not a parent of a young woman attending any of the schools in Lusaka or Zambia, not a member of the community and so on.

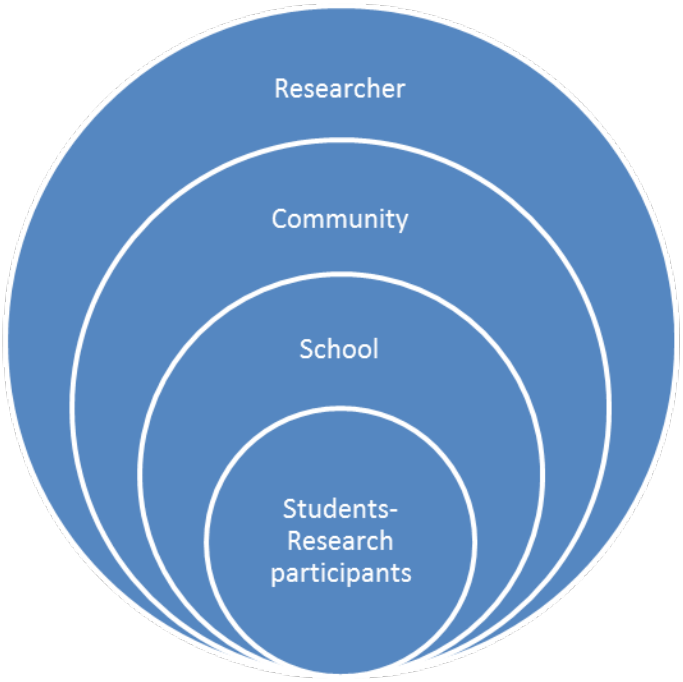

Figure 4.1: The Researcher as an Outsider

Source: Produced by Author

As an outsider I viewed research participants as "experts" on their context, views and experiences, thereby empowering them to talk freely about the sports they played, reasons they played, the benefits and barriers to participation they experienced. I thought that this would in turn help to produce detailed and comprehensive interview and focus group data. I could elicit detailed responses, reduce the participants' fear of being

judged, ask some questions that a male or female Zambian researcher might not feel able to, and maintain a critical distance from the data I was collecting.

This 'outsider looking inside' position made me reflect on differences between me and the research participants. I examined my own experiences, values, beliefs and assumptions of the sport world. I reflected on how my being a black middle aged male from the United Kingdom, and how my researcher and professional position could influence my interactions with participants. I knew I was bringing my existing interpretations of the sport world to the research. To help me sustain a critical perspective on my own actions as a researcher, I kept a research diary to facilitate reflexivity, as recommended by Blaxter *et al*. (2001).

I also worked with four female research assistants who helped me understand local culture, translate languages, collect data, provided another interpretive filter, and critically audited my corresponding interpretations of data. The research assistants were females who included a research intern from the National Organisation for Women in Sport Physical Activity and Recreation (NOWSPAR), and three postgraduate students from the University of Zambia. I recruited the research assistants through Lombe Mwambwa, General Secretary and Researcher at NOWSPAR. The research assistants were not known to the respondents but were active in sports, spoke local languages, and had a deeper understanding of the cultural context. Research assistants were important in reducing the cultural gap and power asymmetries between me and the young women respondents.

Conversations with young women required a degree of sensitivity and tact because, based on my small scale research, I envisaged the young women would be shy and/or unwilling to disclose information to an adult male or 'stranger'. The research assistants made the settings relaxed, enabling good communication and in-depth engagement in a manner that was respectful to all participants. They enhanced my rapport and communication with respondents as they were local, female and empathetic to respondents. Their presence enabled respondents to reveal intimate details of their experiences and to gauge the honesty and accuracy of responses. The assistants were all keen and interested to learn how to conduct qualitative research, and were inducted into interpretive phenomenological research through three days of training by me, supported by NOWSPAR General Secretary and Researcher, Lombe Mwambwa.

The training included explaining the research topic, purpose of research, the research questions, data collection methods and ethics of conducting research like maintaining confidentiality. The research assistants had experience in collecting data through semi-structured interviews but needed skills on how to conduct focus groups. I checked with the research assistants if they understood and shared my research methodology and methods. They simply said they were happy to learn, but I think they had no choice as I was the one commissioning and funding the research, including their fees, travel and subsistence allowances. I could feel the tensions between us as they were more aligned to survey methods that NOWSPAR largely uses in research. They told me they had experience with collecting data through questionnaires. The three day induction, which included 'pilot research' using a focus group and semi-structured interviews, helped them to appreciate and understand my research methods.

In spite of the training I did encounter some difficulties with two research assistants. One of them answered her mobile phone during focus group discussions and was not always dressed properly for sport sessions as she came to the sport field with high heeled shoes. The other one had long conversations with respondents after translating or asking a question or at times gave the response herself and not the respondent. She showed a lack of experience with focus groups.

While I sought to understand research participants' experiences and views, I was conscious of the possibility of educators in the school, and society at large, influencing the young women's experiences and views. I did not include educators, parents and members of the community as focal groups for the research due to limitations of resources, such as time and money. This is something I will probably do in future research.

In due process and as I gained access to research participants and conducted my research, I felt I had moved from being an outsider to outsider-within (Mansfield, 2008) and an alongside(r) (see Figure 4.2 below). My social location or power in relation to respondents in the research was therefore not fixed or static; rather it was ever-shifting and permeable social location from outsider, outsider-within (Mansfield, 2008) to alongsider. I experienced oscillating between outsider, outsider-within and alongside as I moved in and out of similarity, familiarity, difference and unfamiliarity, both within and between observations, interviews and focus groups.

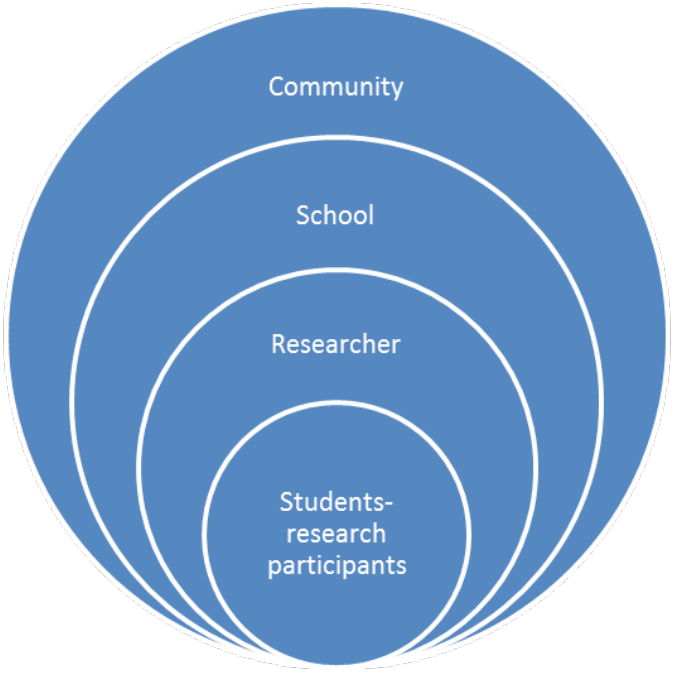

Figure 4.2: Researcher as outsider-within and an alongsider

Source: Produced by Author

I was outsider-within when I interviewed research participants, and alongside research participants when I observed them playing sports. Alongside in my view means during research I was with participants immersed in their sport activities, empathizing but with reflective concentration and reflexive awareness as I was wary of my personal, epistem-ological and methodological influences on them. I had moments of empathy and often

mirrored young women kicking a ball. At times I was momentarily transposing myself and trying to become them. I often asked myself whether I could kick the ball like them and feel what they were feeling performing like young women. This made me think that, no matter what I felt or knew, I could not be one of them but outside and alongside.

4.4 Research Design and Methods

An in-depth interpretive phenomenological case study research design (Creswell, 1998; Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was used. As explained in Chapter 1, this study was built on my previous small scale phenomenological research in High Schools in Zambia. The previous research enabled me to gain some initial knowledge about young women's participation in sports in schools and sport for development activities in Lusaka. For this study I was interested in developing a more in-depth understanding of how young women made sense of their experiences of the everyday world (Denscombe, 2007) of sport. To get the deeper understanding, I was drawn to consider case study although there is no agreement as to what it is (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), and moreover definitions are always contentious. Every social science study can be viewed as a case study from one or other perspective (Ragin, 1992). A case study can be viewed as an analysis of social phenomena specific to time and space. Ragin (1992) and Cronbach (1982) suggest that any social research done within a conceptual, time and geographic framework can be considered a case study. Although there is no consensus as to what a case is, it may be useful to ask what is it that a researcher wants to be able to say at the end of the study (Patton, 1990). According to Yin (1994), a case study is an empirical study of contemporary phenomenon within a real life context, or as Adelman *et al*. (1980) argue, it is the study of an occurrence while it happens. While this may suggest using observation as a main tool of research, many authors include multiple data collection methods and a variety of data sources (Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994).

A case study also allows investigation of a context, as the case may be context-specific and holistic (Merriam, 1988). Social truths are embedded in social situations and a case study may reveal multiple and conflicting viewpoints (Cohen *et al*., 2000) and actions, so space for participants to speak for themselves within their contexts is important to deepening understanding beyond the reach of a researcher simply interpreting or judging phenomena. Stake (1995) has stressed the benefits of qualitative case study

methodology arising from its emphasis on the uniqueness of each case, and the educator's subjective experience of that case.

Consistent with the orientations of the research, two State High Schools, a Girls High School and a Coeducation School offering Grades 10-12 classes in Lusaka, Zambia, provided the case study sites. I selected the two schools in Lusaka purposively for professional reasons. Lusaka is one of the four provinces where the Zambia Ministries of Education and Sport, and the organization I work for, UK Sport, agreed to pilot innovations about physical education and sport for development activities targeting young women in secondary schools and communities. Education authorities, and me as a researcher, agreed that the two schools, with long standing sports programmes and used as venues for development activities in partnership with NGOs, provided the most 'rounded' sport for development sites for researching young women's lived experiences of sport.

The Girls High School is located in a low density/affluent suburb south east of Lusaka city. At the time of research, the school had 2,520 young women largely drawn from communities living in high density areas surrounding the affluent suburb. The Head of the School said they were not able to attract many local students because the school infrastructure was run down due to lack of money to maintain it. There was a double-shift system in the school; that is two entirely separate groups of pupils came for lessons during a school day. The first group of students attended school from early morning until mid-day, and the second group attended from mid-day to late afternoon. Each group used the same buildings, equipment and other facilities.

The Coeducation High School is located in a working class suburb west of Lusaka city, and had 2,000 students drawn from the local community: it also had a double shift system. In 2010, Durham University in England, working with a local NGO Sport in Action, constructed netball, basketball and volleyball courts at the school. The facilities are accessible to communities from the high density suburbs. In addition, the Coeducation High School had a partnership with a coeducation secondary school in Bourne End, England. Through the partnership, over 400 students at the school were trained as young sports leaders and coaches. The sport leaders had outreach activities to basic and specialist needs schools in the neighbourhood.

At both High Schools the numbers of students who were active in sports on a regular basis, at least one hour a week, was not known and the schools did not keep records.

4.4.1 Ethics

This study conformed to the requirements of the University of Sussex ethical framework for research. The guidelines helped me to conduct research honestly with integrity, cultural sensitivity and with minimal risk to participants and myself. Apart from University of Sussex ethics approval I obtained approval of Zambia education authorities, parents/guardians and participants. In addition as both a professional and researcher working with children and young people I already had a UK Criminal Records Bureau check/disclosure in fulfilment of my employer's requirements on child protection. In this study all respondents gave informed consent. I fully informed them about the study including my connections with University of Sussex. In addition I informed them that that they were free to terminate their participation at any time before or during interviews without having to provide a reason for doing so. I told them that the results of the research project would be presented in a thesis in which no real names would be used except for programme managers from NGOs who were all adults and had consented to this. These adults had authority from the organisations they represented to be interviewed and provide information about programmes their organisations offered. Permission to take pictures of facilities and the young men and women playing sport was obtained from schools and the young people themselves consented to have pictures taken of them and used in this thesis. Permission was also obtained from the UK Sport IDEALS programme and Edusport to publish their pictures used in this thesis.

I was aware that in researching young women's experiences of sport there could be disclosure of abuse. So I had an obligation to understand Zambia's safeguarding and child protection policies and systems. At the time of field work there was no national child protection system in Zambia though there were policies such as the National Child Policy (2006) of the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development that was aimed at strengthening coordination and regulatory framework. In the absence of a set of protocols to respond quickly and effectively to disclosures of abuse a UNICEF-supported “One-Stop Centre” at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka and NOWSPAR's project on gender based violence in sport was available. As a professional trained in safeguarding and protecting children I was prepared to manage disclosure of abuse by

respondents. I listened calmly taking disclosure seriously while reassuring respondents of confidentiality and supporting them in their decision to disclose abuse. When disclosure happened during focus groups I informed school authorities and the NGO NOWSPAR and sought their support.

4.4.2 Access to the two High Schools

In order to do this research I was required to get permission from the district education board to gain access to the schools. I followed the proper bureaucratic order and lines of communication, which included visiting the Ministry of Education headquarters, provincial and district offices, and submitting a letter asking for permission. I presented myself plus my letter to officials as expected. I showed the authorities my University of Sussex ethics approval letter. I ensured I set aside ample time to do this, as I was aware of the protocol and bureaucracy involved; it usually takes a long time to get official approval. The process of getting permission allowed me to explore any previous research done at the schools and issues such as attrition/drop-out rates and absenteeism.

After getting official approval I then visited the two schools. With a certificate of ethical approval at each school, I introduced myself and the four research assistants to the heads of school/school managers, who, after confirming who I was, welcomed me at 'their' schools. The heads of the two schools directed the research to be coordinated by the sports masters. This was important as the sports masters were the source of information about young women who participated in sports and sport for development activities. The gendered title of 'master' given to teachers in charge of sport was a strong first hint of the gendered perspectives on sports within the schools. In this case all these 'sports masters' were male.

I personally gave prepared research information packages to the heads of schools and sports masters. I verbally spelt out the purpose and benefits of the research to manage expectations. Following government policy, the heads of schools required me to get consent from the parent/guardian of each of the young women participating in the research. I showed them my Criminal Records Bureau check/disclosure in fulfilment of UK Sport's requirements on child protection, which helped in getting parental/guardian consent.

I asked sports masters about the cultural beliefs and values, the time and place for interviews and focus groups to ensure the young women's respect, dignity, safety and privacy. I also gave each school head five rugby balls and five footballs. The heads of schools were very pleased with my presentation and sports equipment. They did not take long to 'open their doors' for me to carry out the research. It was interesting to hear them say they were increasingly tired of some sport researchers who reported about the lack of sport facilities and equipment at their schools but offered nothing.

4.4.3 Selection and Recruitment of Respondents

I was after a sample of Grade 10 to 12 females who were participating in sport and sport for development activities. I was interested in gaining insights from a sample of young women rather than making a statistical enquiry. Since there were no official records of young women participating in sport, I used the snowballing sampling method. At each school, sports teachers helped me to identify two young women who played competitive sport and participated in sport for development activities. Finding participants and initiating 'chain referral' proved difficult to achieve on my own. I had to rely on sports masters who had authority or proximity: in other words, they were 'knowledgeable insiders' (Groger *et al*., 1999) who were able to identify initial respondents.

The two young females at each school that were referred to me agreed to take part and subsequently recruited respondents through snowballing. Due to the sensitivity of the study, I asked the initial students to help identify other students who were willing to take part. These new research participants came forward themselves on a voluntary basis rather than only being identified by the initial students. In this respect, the initial students helped to identify additional participants who would make up my sample.

Initially I was able to get 45 young women as respondents. Nine out of the forty-five dropped out of the research project before interviews started. I chose snowball sampling to access sporting young women based on the assumption that a 'bond' or 'link' existed between them as a circle of acquaintance (Berg, 1988). I viewed snowball sampling as the most appropriate method because it enabled me to 'informally' reach the sporting women, a sort of hidden process for accessing the target population. In agreement with Hendricks *et al*. (1992), this method offered me a practical means of obtaining initial contact with sporting women, who in reality are few in number.

The process of gathering the sample through snowballing was both time-consuming and labour-intensive (Griffiths *et al*., 1993; Faugier and Sergeant, 1997). In addition, the timing of the research made it difficult. Carrying out research from the second to the third term was not ideal, as students are usually studying for and sitting exams in the third term. Grade 12 young women were studying for their final exams, so I only had access to Grade 10 and 11 women. It was not possible for me to change the timing due to my time and financial limitations as both a full time employee and a part-time and self-funding doctoral student.

The final composition of my participant sample was 36 young women in the 15-19 years age range (18 from Girls High and 18 from Coeducation High School), see Table 4.1 below. The young females were in their teens or life stage between childhood and adulthood commonly referred to as adolescence (Richter, 2006); they also fell into the category of United Nations Programme on Youth's definition of youth as people aged between 15 and 24 years. Sports Masters called these respondents 'girls' and the respondents identified themselves as 'girls'. I preferred to call them young women because they were towards late adolescence years (Richter, 2006): the age of consent in Zambia is 16 years. Moreover during the interviews they accepted and felt more respected (empowered) by the term 'young women' than the term 'girls'.

Table 4.1: Profiles of Respondents by age, background, school and Grade

Interviewee Number	Age	Background	School	Grade
1	16	Financially secure	Coeducation	10
2	17	Financially secure	Coeducation	11
3	16	Poor	Coeducation	10
4	18	Financially secure	Coeducation	11
5	18	Poor	Coeducation	11
6	16	Financially secure	Coeducation	10
7	16	Financially secure	Coeducation	10
8	18	Poor	Coeducation	11
9	18	Financially secure	Coeducation	11
10	17	Financially secure	Coeducation	11
11	16	Financially secure	Coeducation	10
12	16	Financially secure	Coeducation	10

13	18	Poor	Coeducation	11
14	18	Financially secure	Coeducation	11
15	19	Poor	Coeducation	11
16	18	Poor	Coeducation	11
17	17	Poor	Coeducation	10
18	19	Poor	Coeducation	11
19	15	Wealthy	Girls High	10
20	16	Wealthy	Girls High	11
21	16	Poor	Girls High	10
22	16	Wealthy	Girls High	11
23	15	Wealthy	Girls High	10
24	17	Wealthy	Girls High	11
25	17	Wealthy	Girls High	11
26	15	Wealthy	Girls High	10
27	16	Wealthy	Girls High	10
28	16	Wealthy	Girls High	11
29	17	Poor	Girls High	11
30	16	Wealthy	Girls High	11
31	15	Poor	Girls High	10
32	16	Poor	Girls High	10
33	16	Poor	Girls High	10
34	16	Wealthy	Girls High	11
35	16	Wealthy	Girls High	11
36	18	Poor	Girls High	11

Source: Produced by Author

There were 15 Grade 10 respondents aged 15 to 17 years old (one aged 17, four aged 15 and ten aged 16), and 21 Grade 11 respondents aged 17 to 19 years old (six aged 16, five aged 17, eight aged 18 and two aged 19). The young women had varied socio-economic backgrounds, which are described in Table above; 12 of the 36 young women were from backgrounds described locally as ‘wealthy’, 11 from financially secure backgrounds, and 13 were from poor, marginalized and underrepresented backgrounds. All of them came from homes within a 10km radius of the schools’ catchment areas. I should acknowledge that the socio-economic differentiation or categorisation in Table 4.1 above is superficial and is an area for further research.

Categories were developed through my attempt to collapse and simplify socio-economic factors that sportsmasters and respondents themselves discussed with me in interviews. These included respondent's residential locations, type of housing, parents/guardian's educational background, employment and ability to pay sports levy/fees, buy sports equipment and sports attire. These kind of data help in showing difference among women as gender intersects with other factors (Flintoff, et al., 2008). For example, though debatable the relationship between sport participation and class has been observed and young women from lowest socio-economic position are reported as having lowest participation rates in specific sports compared to their peers in upper classes (Dollman and Lewis, 2010). However in this study the data I gathered on young women's backgrounds was so superficial that I could not use them in analysing how gender intersected with other identities. As a consequence I was not able to uncover explicitly and in depth ways in which factors such as socio-economic status, age, race, ethnicity, religion, ability, and sexual orientation influenced young women's sport choices and experiences.

4.4.4 Familiarization with the site and respondents

In the schools I had to develop a rapport between myself, the research assistants, sports masters and the participants, so I organized two informal sport sessions for some coaching and fun competition. The participants chose sports in which they were interested, which included football, basketball and volleyball. Each sport session lasted 30 minutes, and ended with a general discussion with me about their participation in sport in general and their competitive sport choices. I was keen to develop a presence and relationships in the research setting to enable me to collect data (see Schensul *et al*., 1999).

I recorded descriptive notes after each period/session. Participants' uniforms, how they played, their interactions with peers and research assistants, their verbal and non-verbal communication and their body language were observed. During general observations in the sessions, any gendered actions, behaviours or incidents were noted. Wherever possible, my observations and interpretations were subsequently discussed with the participants.

In this research I made efforts to familiarize myself and develop an informal rapport with the group of young sports women to avoid the problems that Wolcott (1995) warns of if the familiarization is too short in the field. This was especially important in my re-

search, as researchers who interview young people in a school setting may be perceived as teachers, and the ingrained response in this case of the group of young women could have impacted on the quality of the data (Christensen and James, 2000; Punch, 2002).

4.4.5 Data Collection Methods

This study took place with two sports masters, three representatives of NGOs that offered sport for development activities to young women, and, as already mentioned above, 36 young women aged 15 to 19 in Grades 10 to 11 from two High Schools in Lusaka. The research instruments included observations, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews, which were designed in relation to the research questions and research approach. Drawing on the work on research methods by Wilkinson (1998); Krueger and Casey (2000); Bell (2010); Denscombe (2010); Cohen *et al*. (2011); Clough and Nutbrown (2012); Clegg and Stevenson (2013), Table 4.2 below summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of the methods chosen.

Table 4.2: Advantages and disadvantages of research methods

Method	Advantage	Disadvantage
Observation	- Collects data in context - Does not rely on self-reporting - Enables obtaining information on what participants do - Is flexible and adaptable - Can complement other methods	- Data hard to interpret - It is difficult to have everyday lifelike situations due to observer effect on participants - Observer bias as it is possible to just record what researchers wants to see - Difficult to ask probing questions - Observation period is short - Cannot obtain deep information unless complemented by interviews
Focus group	- Quick and cheap - Allows a permissive environment, especially with young people - Allows for diverse views - Encourages participants to share perceptions and points of view (Krueger and Casey, 2000). - Facilitate openness and disclosure (Wilkinson, 1998) - Provides access to participants' own language and concepts: participants can talk to each other in a way that is closer to everyday conversation using slang, jokes, teasing and anecdotes, which are all relevant to girls who use different languages from adult researchers.	- Cannot be anonymous - Are conducted in an artificial environment - Discussion is not always successful - requires great skill of moderation - One or a few participants may dominate discussion, leading to the underrepresentation of other participants - Difficult to ask probing questions as all participants need to be given time to speak
Semi-structured Interviews	- Can target specific participants - Structured to allow comparisons - Have an informal style - Participants' own words can be recorded - Participants not influenced by others - Provides deep information - Interviewer can ask probing questions - Ensures relevant information is gathered	- Cannot be anonymous - Questions may be prescriptive - Researcher/participant power relations may be affected by authoritative institutional teacher/student power relations - Time consuming in collecting and analysing data - Requires deep knowledge of local culture - Danger of interviewer not distancing own views from those of participants

Acknowledging these advantages and disadvantages I then mapped the methods on to the research questions as summarized in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Research questions and research methods

Research Questions	Methods
1. What sports do young women play, under what conditions and why do they opt for these sports?	- Observation - Individual semi-structured interviews - Six focus group discussions - Research diary writing
2. What do young women value or experience as benefits of taking part in sports?	- Individual semi-structured interviews - Research diary writing
3. What barriers to sports participation have they experienced, how has gender played its part in this and how have they overcome these barriers?	- Observation and six focus group discussions - Research diary writing

Source: Produced by Author

Details of the instruments are available in the in the Appendices E, F and G.

Field work was carried out continuously in the third term over a period of three months. Each method was used in the following way:

- Unstructured observations were conducted once a week in the first month
- Focus groups were used once: one meeting for each of the six focus groups
- In-depth interviews were used once, after focus group discussions

Focus groups and semi-structured interviews were the main methods used with sports masters, NGO representatives and young women. The observations were important in how young women played sports, their uniform, interactions with peers and research assistants, their verbal and non-verbal communication and their body language. During general observations in the sessions, any gendered actions, behaviours or incidents were noted. The observation of participants' interactions with peers and research assistants, their verbal and non-verbal communication and their body language continued in interviews and were recorded in my diary. I started with focus groups followed by individual interviews with all participants. From the beginning of my research, I sought to privilege the meaning and understanding of gender and sport from the point of view of re-

search participants and research assistants. I thought by doing so I was avoiding the trap of what I call conceptual imperialism: imposing my own Western conceptualization of gender on the girls and research assistants.

Interviews and focus groups had descriptive and explanatory phases. The descriptive phase was introductory, about which sports they play, with no prompting. This was followed by asking them to tell us about their experiences of sport both in and outside school. The explanatory phase explored reasons why they played sports and how they addressed the barriers they faced. The six focus group discussions, with each group having one meeting, as suggested by Burgess (1996), enabled access to girls' own thoughts and experiences surrounding sport and physical activity (Slater and Tiggemann, 2010a).

Each group was made up of six girls. The focus groups were carried out at school in a meeting room with chairs arranged in a circular manner around a boardroom-style table, as suggested by Kitzinger (1995). Each focus group was provided with snacks and drinks to set up an informal and relaxed atmosphere and promote conversation and communication within the group (Krueger and Casey, 2000). Multiple dictaphones were set up prior to participants entering the room, but participants were informed of this and consented to their use.

Each focus group lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours. Discussions commenced with a brief introduction by me and included how the focus group discussion would work. The opening question was about the girls' understanding of sport and how their interest in participating came about. I asked opening questions, e.g. 'What does sport mean to you?' 'Do many girls at this school participate in competitive sport?' 'Which sport do they like to participate in and why?' These questions were supplemented by follow-up or clarifying questions, encouraging the girls to talk (Krueger and Casey, 2000).

When I asked probing questions, such as why some of them did not like to play netball, I received a silent response (which I recorded in my notes); no young women responded. I then stopped leading the discussion (but remained in the room) to enable respondents to have a conversation with the female research assistants about their experiences and views about sport. As stated in Section 4.3, there was power asymmetry between me and the participants. Respondents were too shy to have a conversation with me, a

male from the UK with status. My deeper and active engagement in conversations tended to silence them or influenced them to tell me what I wanted to hear. At times they spoke languages I could not understand or made non-verbal responses I could not understand. It was clear that the English language was preventing many research participants from participating in discussions. To overcome this issue, we spoke in a mixture of local language, slang and English. As mentioned in Section 4.3, research assistants helped me to understand their local languages or speech codes inflected by gender, ethnicity, class and age.

By not leading the focus group after the introductions, I opened the space for the research assistants and participants to talk directly and securely. Successful focus group discussions are often about tone, style and approach – low-key and personable. As already stated, I inducted the research assistants and held regular debriefs with them about the research process, anything they did not understand or required further explanations from me. The informal aspects of the research and my communication with the respondents were very important in providing insights into how the research was going. I kept my researcher diary, written after every day's field work, as a way of thinking about the research as it progressed.

Comprehensive notes were taken by research assistants in order to help the subsequent transcription process, as suggested by Krueger and Casey (2000). What respondents said in any language was also recorded. Research assistants helped with translating when local languages, including slang, were used. Respondents were given transcripts so that they could check the accuracy of the translations (Rossman and Rallis, 1998).

After focus group discussions, with support from the assistant researchers, I conducted follow-up individual interviews with all 36 girls; this gave each the opportunity to voice their thoughts, feelings and experiences in sport individually, and in private. Participants controlled the focus of the interview, as they were encouraged to raise their own issues and experiences, thereby destabilizing this adult researcher –centrality in researching young people's experiences. The interviews lasting thirty minutes to one hour were conducted at schools during a scheduled time.

The individual interviews focused on what participants wanted to say in private and in confidence. The interview strategy was to encourage participants to speak about the

phenomena with as little prompting as possible (Smith and Osborn, 2008). Statements such as “Please tell me about…” were used, allowing participants to talk about aspects of the topic that were most memorable or relevant in their lives. The interviews had conversational statements as a way of engaging participants, followed by probing questions thereafter. Patton’s (2002) technique of probing was used. Participants were able to share their views (Houghton *et al*., 1995). Discussion tended to diverge to cover a wide range of related topics.

In most of the interviews, the respondents spoke about how they had become interested in playing, how they took on and enjoyed competitive sport in an academic, poverty-stricken and largely masculine environment, how they interacted with boys, girls, peers, teachers, coaches, parents, etc. in school and outside. They shared their views on competitive sport, the barriers they faced, their experiences in school and community settings.

4.4.6 Data Analysis

Data were analysed on an on-going basis throughout the data collection process. Patton (2001) suggests that there is no point at which data collection ends and analysis begins. Data collection and data analysis overlapped. Data analysis started informally as I began to read, review and draw out emerging themes while making observations, sitting with research assistants, listening and transcribing the recordings.

Guided by the key concepts in interpretive phenomenology of subjectivity, personal accounts, experience, meaning and sense-making, my task with the help of research assistants was to transcribe interview and focus discussion data verbatim, read and review my field notes. interrogate all data and make credible interpretations of data through a reflexive approach. In analysing data, I made reference to Bogdan and Biklen’s (1982, p. 145) definition of qualitative data analysis: “...working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others”. I engaged with the data, coding it according to categories and details of settings, what I observed during focus groups and interviews, and views and experiences of participants.

It is important to make clear how interpretations and meanings were placed on data and to highlight that the researcher is visible in the ‘frame’ of the research as an interested

and subjective actor, rather than a detached and impartial observer. To interrogate data, the feminist perspectives employed were post-structural (Butler, 1990, 1993), postcolonial (King, 2012) and queer (Caudwell, 2007). These were seen as useful theoretical avenues that bring into focus the micro, meso and "broader social, economic, political and cultural forces that affect people's behaviour in sport and physical activity contexts" (Horn, 2002, p. 281). This approach helped in understanding the intra-personal, inter-personal and structural dynamics of their situation inherent in the narratives that participants produced during interviews and focus group discussions.

In analysing data I asked myself four questions:

- Did participants answer the research question(s)?
- Do their words, phrases or comments answer a different question?
- Do their comments say anything of importance to the topic?
- Do they say something that was said earlier?

I looked at sections in the text relevant to each research question, and colour coded relevant text to mark different questions it related to. I initially noted significant or interesting points (see Smith *et al*., 1999). These preliminary notes were used to draw together emergent themes. In most cases, observation, focus group and semi-structured interviews yielded different kinds of data. Observation data was useful in understanding the physical context - dilapidated playing grounds and interactions such as cheerleading and how young women kicked a football. The focus groups yielded data on benefits and barriers of participation in sport. As with the semi-structured interviews, the live conversations also revealed the ways the young women talked about sports, what concepts and implicit theories they used to answer the questions that were posed for them. Semi-structured interviews yielded data about why they chose sport, what it is to be a young woman in sport, and how they addressed barriers they faced.

Data from observation, focus group and interviews were combined to generate themes as follows: I read and reread my notes and transcribed texts looking for clues for themes. Clues for themes came from words, local terms and phrases in observation notes and transcribed interview and focus group data. For example, words and phrases that were repeated many times or recurred were personal choice, enjoy sport, my talent, help from father/mother/brother/sister/friend. I asked myself questions that included:

What are the words/phrases/statements about? How do words, phrases and statements agree, connect and differ from the preceding or following words/phrases/statements in different texts from different data sources? What do words, phrases and statements remind me of?

Guided by Taylor and Bogdan's (1998) advice, I cut words, phrases and quotes and sorted them into firstly main categories or piles, then sub-themes and free nodes (data that could not be entered under main theme or sub-themes). I looked at shifts of views between groups and individuals, for example, influence of family and friends was either positive or negative. I looked for themes that related to the research questions (Creswell, 1998; Moustakas, 1994) while at the same time bracketing my other personal views or preconceptions (Crabtree and Miller, 1992). It should be noted that while themes emerged from data as a researcher I was not value free or a blank slate. I had feminist interest, in particular a feminist critical perspective I could not free myself from in interpreting what the young women said about their engagement with sports within their social and cultural context. I for example labelled respondents' verbatim like 'football is for boys' as gender stereotyping and 'we (young women compared to male peers) get second hand uniforms' as gender- based discrimination.

After the main themes were identified, the codes were organized into lists, and information was provided for each individual code together with the exclusion and inclusion criteria. Sub-categories of themes were created as necessary to indicate the broad ideas under which themes were nested. Redundant data was eliminated (Moustakas, 1994). Analysis was made until saturation point. This analytical process was inductive rather than deductive.

4.5 Reflexivity

In order to trace my influence on the research and to ensure the credibility of research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) I kept, as stated earlier in this chapter, an audit trail (Cresswell, 1998; Merriam, 1998, Rossman and Rallis, 2003) in the form of a research diary and undertook reflexive analysis. Throughout the research I looked at my work and researcher position, and how my emotional responses and embodiment may have shaped participants' responses. In my diary I noted my thoughts and reactions to participants' interview or focus group data. As examples during focus groups largely conducted by research assistants I at times nodded my head in approval or disapproval of questions asked by research assistants or showed non-verbal facial expressions that sort of queried responses from the young women. At one moment in focus group discussions at Girls High, I almost made a comment that we had trained young men from the nearby Boys High as young leaders, and that they were their coaches. In addition, the research assistants served as critical friends who challenged, questioned, and critiqued the study's methodology, interpretations and findings throughout data analysis process.

This study was also reviewed by my work colleagues in the sport for development field who suggested the methodological approach particularly semi-structured interviews and focus groups are methods suitable for researching young women. They however pointed out that I should have worked with peer leaders as research assistants as they would have been insiders and that I should have included a sample of young men who played with the young women as gender in sport is relational. Time and financial constraints limited me in incorporating their advice.

I also looked at the research sample. Some young women playing sport in High School were missed due to timing of the research. I missed Grade 12 participants as sports masters and participants claimed they refused to participate in my research due to promotional examinations they were writing. In future I will be more careful about the timing of my field work. The project was also limited to the experiences of 'able' young women and did not expand into a broader exploration of the topic from multiple stances. Effective strategies to interest young women to participate in sport and physical activity should take on board different abilities (including disabled), different geographical locations, cultures, etc. Consequently, views and experiences of young women with disabil-

ities were missed, as were views from boys, peer leaders, parents, coaches, and sport administrators in sport clubs and federations.

The selection of participants through snowballing was helpful but could be criticized as having deficiencies around representativeness and selection bias (Van Manen, 1990; Kaplan *et al*., 1987) and limits me in generalizing the research claims from the sample of young women (Griffiths *et al*., 1993). However, the purpose of research was not to produce generalizations but to obtain insights into the views and experiences of young women participating in sport.

I acknowledge that the sample might be criticized for bias towards the inclusion of young women who knew each other through team sports, and that those who participated in either individual or club sport outside the secondary schools were missing. These are sports participants who are not connected to any secondary school group or network I tapped into (Van Manen, 1990). To some extent the familiarity among the sample was a positive in terms of making them feel at ease, which was important in getting the in-depth stories and views from the respondents within my constrained timeframe. In an ideal world, a larger sample might have added to the research, and even a longitudinal study working with some of the young sportswomen as co-researchers would perhaps have given me more and deeper insights. Observation over a long time could have been one of the tools to use to collect such data.

Included in my diary was the language issue. I do not speak the local Bemba and Nyanja languages and had to rely on translations by research assistants. This left some ambiguity as I was not able to validate if their translations were accurate. In addition, although research assistants picked up cultural and contextual nuances that I could have missed, I do not know to what extent the presence of research assistants opened or silenced participants: this may have affected the quality of data.

The balance between personal accounts of participants and my interpretation as a researcher could be doubted given I had knowledge of the context through my professional work. For example, the use of semi-structured interviews could be criticized for researcher pre-conceptions that possibly filtered through compared to unstructured interviews. However, semi-structured interviews were not the only tool or method I used. I started with observations followed by focus group discussions, which presented an op-

portunity for unstructured discussions, and data from these was compared to data from semi-structured interviews. The use of mixed methods enabled me to make a comprehensive and reflexive analysis of data.

Over-interpretation of participants' views and experiences could also be raised as another criticism, as it is common to say that one is misquoted or meaning was lost in translation. I asked some of the respondents and research assistants to assess the reliability and validity of my and the assistant researchers' transcriptions, analysis and interpretations as a process of error reduction. In writing this thesis, I also selected direct quotes from participants, as suggested by Smith (1996), to accompany the presentation of themes so that any reader can assess the reliability and validity of interpretation.

4.6 Summary

My research predominantly used interview methods to gather young women's views and experiences of competitive sport. The rationale for using the interpretive phenomenological approach was largely based on the purpose of my research, which was to understand young women's engagement with sports from narratives about their experiences and views of playing sport. Research questions provided the focus on personal accounts, subjective life experiences and meanings from the research respondents' standpoint, based on a methodological framing that holds with the social construction of reality, and highlights young women's embodied individual and collective lived experiences (Young, 1980, 1998) in sport or physical activity as valid knowledge (Barbour, 2002; 2003).

The research design and methods were influenced by practical considerations I made as: a) I had limited time because of work and family pressure; b) I had no access to research funds or sponsorship, so the research was self-funded; c) I was familiar with the research site, as I had conducted a small-scale study before, which gave me easy access to gatekeepers, research sites and participants. In the next three chapters I discuss how my data analysis has responded to each of my research questions. In presenting findings I give a summary description with illustrative quotes followed by my analytical interpretation.

5
Sports Played by Young Women

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe, analyse and discuss the main findings to the research question: *What sports do young women play, under what conditions, and why do they opt for these sports?* In answering this question I start by analysing the sports participation opportunities in and outside school that were available and accessible to the respondents. This is followed by an analysis of the sports young women chose to play, including the conditions under which they played the sports. As such, in parts of my data presentation and analysis I illustrate how extracurricular opportunities and conditions, such as the audience and gendered relations, influenced their choices, views and 'doing' sports. I then moved to focus on the respondents' reasons for engaging in specific sports and sport for development activities. In discussing these findings I also reconnected key points to the Zambia education, sport and sport for development policy context provided in Chapter 2, and the literature review discussed in Chapter 3. I do this by highlighting, where appropriate, how my research findings reflect, differ from and extend current knowledge of young women's participation in sport.

5.2 Sport Opportunities in Schools

At each of the High Schools, young women in my study had the opportunity to participate in extracurricular sports that were administered by male teachers-in-charge of sport called Sports Masters. While the two schools in my research project had policy documents and syllabuses for academic subjects, which the Heads of Schools were keen for me to see, there was no Ministry of Education document or written school sports programme for me to look at. In order to obtain an understanding of the sports activities each school offered I had to interview the Sports Masters. This lack of official policy and curriculum documents for sport in schools made me wonder if sports had an important place and value in the whole school curriculum.

From interviews with the Sports Master I was informed that, at Girls High School, young women were offered at least one session a week of extracurricular sports in the morning before academic classes or afternoon after classes, depending on the school shift they attended. The extra-curricular programme offered a range of team and indi-

vidual sports that consisted mainly of netball, basketball, volleyball, tennis, rugby, football (soccer), chess, badminton, table tennis and gymnastics.

Extracurricular sport was guided, as described in Chapter 2, by the secondary schools sports competition programme organized by ZASSSA[4] (Zambia Secondary Schools Sports Association). Participation in extracurricular sports was optional for all Grades 10 to 12, and according to the Sports Master students were *free to play sports of their choice*. On the surface, this may mean the school was offering a non-prescriptive student centred sports programme. However, this was not the case as schools had a limited range of sports on offer. Moreover, when I asked the Sports Master if they allowed and supported young women to play sports or physical activities of their choice outside the official school programme, he said:

> *We are interested in our school winning competitions and identifying talent for our national teams. Who knows these girls can even make it to our senior teams. Yeah…some of them participate in NGO activities but that is not our* (school) *programme* (Sports Master, Girls High School).

The response from the Sports Master suggests a focus only on young women who are very good at sports rather than encouraging all to play. Moreover, extracurricular sports were mainly for the 'gifted and talented' young women who made the grade to participate in inter-school competitions. There appeared to be no space for organized recreational/leisure sport.

At the Coeducation High School respondents were offered mixed sex timetabled physical education. In addition to the provision in the formal curriculum, about 30 15-19 year old students, known as young sport leaders, both male and female and elected by students in school youth clubs, organized lunch time sports activities for their peers. The idea of young sport leaders and lunch time activities was part of a partnership project between the school and Wye Valley School in England. The students were also offered competitive extracurricular sports. The sports offered to students at the school included

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4 Zambia Secondary Schools Association is an officially recognised sport association for competitive sports in secondary schools. A similar association exists for Grade 1 to 9 schools, and is called the Zambia Basic Schools Sports Association. However independent or private schools have their own association.

athletics, football, volleyball, netball and basketball, badminton, handball and Zambian traditional games.

Through Sport in Action, the school had received donor support for the construction of all-weather netball, volleyball and basketball courts. On the surface one could say the school offered a broad physical education and sports curriculum, but the *de facto* sports policy was competitive sport. The Sports Master confirmed this by saying…*they* (students) *cannot just play for fun….at the end of the day what is important is to expose the talent these students have so that clubs and national teams can pick them.* This response, and the quote from the Sports Master at Girls High School, illustrates the focus on only sports competition at the two schools.

My observation during the field work was that the sports programmes at both High Schools were constrained by limited time available, caused by school day being divided into a double shift. There was also pressure to teach examinable academic subjects, which took up 90% of the schools' time, meagre sport budgets, poor facilities, and a shortage of equipment and uniforms for sports. Sports masters also said that the sports programmes were constrained by the low priority given to physical education and sports by school managers and Ministry of Education inspectors, for example the Sports Master at Girls High School said:

> *Teaching sport is voluntary and some of my colleagues just do not have the time or interest…..school managers are busy running the school and examinations. Physical education and sports are not examinable subjects and Ministry inspectors come here for academic subjects not sports. So really some of my colleagues think sports are a waste of time*.

Respondents had limited participation opportunities as the government's national physical education and sport policy looked neglected at the two schools. The formal timetables had few or no sports lessons. This situation arose because the Ministry of Education and school policy did not refer to sport as part of the core curriculum, and therefore there was limited funding, resources and facilities for it. When Sports Masters talked about sport, they referred to it as a voluntary subject that is confined to the extra-curriculum. The competitive sports programme epitomizing the narrow-scoped notion of sport is described in Chapter 3.

The sports opportunities that were available to young women were often provided using the school teams/clubs led by young male coaches, who also introduced male dominated sports to young women. Sport in the two schools was therefore grounded in ideals of masculinity. Sports Masters and young men led, defined and delimited sports opportunities for young women.

5.3 Sport Opportunities Outside Schools

Outside the two schools, municipal or community sport was limited due to either lack of or poor sports infrastructure. Sport clubs were few, often private and exclusive. The only accessible and relatively well resourced public sport space was the multi-purpose Olympic Youth Development Centre developed through a partnership between the government, International Olympic Committee and the National Olympic Committee of Zambia. The centre provided a variety of sports to young people including Olympic Values Education and HIV/AIDS awareness sessions. The respondents said the centre was far from their schools and places of residence. The young women in my project did not have the time and money for public transport to access the centre.

Opportunities outside school that were easily accessible to respondents to participate in sports were Church and sport for development activities organized by the NGOs mentioned in Chapter 2. Girls High School was a venue during weekends for sports clubs, NGOs and Church organizations to run their sport/sport for development activities. Interested young women from the school and neighbouring communities participated in these weekend sports activities. The Coeducation High School was also a centre for community sports. In addition, NGOs such as EduSport, Sport in Action and NOWSPAR, used the school as a hub for their sport for development activities for young people, usually run after school. NGO and Church activities were characterized by a wide range of sports, traditional games, songs, dances, including sessions on leadership training and peer education about HIV/AIDS and gender inequalities.

During field work I was able to observe two tournaments and three peer educator sessions run by some of the respondents. To get more data about sport for development activities offered to young women, I interviewed representatives of three sports for development NGOs, namely Edusport, Sport in Action and NOWSPAR. These NGOs had been referenced by respondents in semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

EduSport is a sport for development organization based in Lusaka. Its programme officers and peer educators teach life skills through movement games (games for understanding), recreational and competitive sports. One of EduSport's programmes is to 'empower' young women through football, basketball, volleyball, netball and indigenous games. In explaining what they meant by empowering young women, their programme officer Annie Namukanga said:

> *We empower girls through peer education by sharing reproductive health and HIV/AIDS information; training and equipping them with skills and knowledge, and building their confidence to pursue equality. We strive to empower the girls by creating safe spaces for them to interact, giving them social recognition and challenging some traditional gender norms by encouraging girls to play male sports or playing with boys. They will see that they can do what boys can do. Life skills education modules cover topics such as financial literacy, communication skills, health and hygiene.* (Annie Namukanga, EduSport).

Sport in Action, another NGO based in Lusaka, offered activities similar to EduSport. In addition, Sport in Action constructed or renovated facilities, hosted the international development and excellence through sport (IDEALS) students from UK universities as described in Chapter 2, and had projects focused on marginalized and disabled children. In explaining the purpose of their organization, the Sport in Action programme officers said:

> *Our purpose is to improve all people's quality of life through sport and recreational activities. We have many programmes that include youth, disabled and women empowerment through sport, renovation and construction of sport facilities. We target children and young people in marginalized communities. We also have the IDEALS programme with UK Sport* (Gregory Shikombelo, Sport in Action).

The Sport in Action programme officer also elaborated how they disseminated HIV/AIDS information through warm up activities or skill drills using slogans such as dribbling, kicking, throwing, or smashing AIDS out. I was told by the officer that during sports sessions coaches did not just focus on techniques of playing a sport or winning, but created games that taught young people to think of how they could 'tackle' school

absenteeism, indiscipline, abuse of alcohol and drugs, and gender based violence. Sport in Action sports competitions included peer education sessions about life skills. A youth radio station supported by Sport in Action and Edusport had live broadcasts about how young people could avoid social risks and dangers.

NOWSPAR activities were talk shows, debates and round table discussions in communities and schools to disseminate information on gender inequalities in sport and advocate for policy change. Their activities also included training young women in leadership skills, building their confidence and sharing strategies on how to prevent or tackle gender-based violence in sports. Matilda Mwaba, Executive Director, Trustee and Founder of NOWSPAR explained her organization's activities as:

> *We have a number of interventions. Every Body Matters, an advocacy movement to facilitate structural change and capacity to transform gender relations and practices among sport organizations, civil society and government to enhance women and girls rights to sport. Play Free is mainly focused on policy engagement with the intended impact being a reduction in athlete and practitioner vulnerability to sport based GBV within sport institutions in Zambia. Building Young Women's Leadership through Sport aims to build the leadership skills, self-confidence and advocacy skills of girls and young women through sporting activities. Girl Power through Sport provides girls and young women with knowledge and skills to shape their own lives. And Building Girls' Leadership in Zambia seeks to empower adolescent girls through leadership skill building and financial literacy as one step in their process of economic empowerment. We work directly with girls using a sport based leadership development program that covers personal awareness, health, financial literacy and prevention of gender based violence* (Matilda Mwaba, Executive Director, Trustee and Founder of NOWSPAR).

It is important to repeat here for emphasis that the activities run by NGOs and Churches at the two schools were not school sports, but rather after school sport for development activities – an important difference. The sport for development activities were in the hands of male and female peer leaders or coaches. Rather than discouraging participation, this sport for development approach encouraged sports participation and helped to assert the space for respondents who also become proactive in bringing their juniors in,

as evidenced in the respondents' comments in Section 5.6.3. This is quite distinct from the singular and competitive extracurricular sport. The NGO activities were either recreational sport sessions or sports festivals used as platforms for life skills education and health information dissemination.

5.4 Sports Played by Young Women

Given the opportunities available, young women played team sports in and outside school. A summary of the sports played by the respondents, analysed from data gathered through semi-structured interviews, is presented in Table 5.1 below ranked according to popularity.

Table 5.1: List of sports by popularity

Type of sport	Number of Grade 10 participants	Number of Grade 11 participants	Total Number of participants
Football	9	16	25
Basketball	5	4	9
Rugby	3	6	9
Netball	4	5	9
Volleyball	2	2	4
Athletics	0	2	2
Tennis	2	0	2

Source: Produced by Author

The range of sports chosen by the young women across the two schools included football, rugby (newly introduced), basketball, volleyball, athletics, netball and tennis. All the respondents at the two schools participated in at least one extra-curricular sports session once a week. In addition, they all had participated at least once a month in a sport for development activity organized by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that took place at the school or in communities during weekends. The young women commented that school sports participation was especially low during the third term because of end of Grade examinations. Nevertheless, 10 respondents (28%) said they participated in mainstream club/elite sports during out of school time: 58% of respondents played more than one sport. Compared to other sports, football was played by a majority of young women, see Table 5.1. In addition, 69% of respondents (42% at Coeducation High school and 27% at Girls High school) played football, and of these 33%

played football only, 17% played football and netball, another 17% played football and rugby, and 2% played football and volleyball.

39% of the respondents played sports without appropriate uniform, on rough playing areas and in the presence of young men (Researcher diary entry, 19 November 2012). Picture 5.1 (courtesy of IDEALS Programme 2012) illustrates this field observation and shows a sporty Grade 10 young woman at the Coeducation High School kicking a soccer (football) ball with bare feet on bare ground while young men are watching.

Picture 5.1: Football practice session at Coeducation school (Courtesy of IDEALS Programme 2012)

The male onlookers were watching as if they wanted to see if she would 'miss' the ball. She did not miss the ball; she controlled and kicked it without fear or feeling uncomfortable because of the young men who were watching her. When I asked her how she felt practising football skills in the presence of her male peers, she said *I try to kick the ball like the boys do it but I think I kick it my own girl way* (Grade 10, Interviewee 3). Kicking the ball her *own girl way* may be a subtle way of expressing that she was not doing it quite right (the boys way), and perhaps signalling a tension for her between doing it in a male way and her embodiment of an acceptable hetero-normative femininity (McRobbie, 2009). The views of the young women about playing sports are an important factor for participation and these are explored a little further in the next section on gender and sports.

5.5 Gender and Sports

The gender issues around participation have been widely discussed in Sections 3.3 and 3.4 of Chapter 3, and this was an important part of the interviews with the 36 respondents who were all active sports players. For the 25 (69%) respondents who played football, it was clear that they viewed it as a man's game, but they did not see anything abnormal in women playing the game, for example in a focus group Interviewee 36 said:

> *People say football is for the boys... blah blah…. I am a girl, yes but I have legs and a head like boys so what is wrong for us to play football? Yeah, eh some boys cannot even kick the ball better than me…. (giggles)* (Grade11, Interviewee 36).

In the response above, the young woman demonstrated an awareness of the discourse that portrayed football as a man's game, but she saw nothing abnormal about young women playing football. She discounted biological reasons about the difference between men and women as irrelevant: she could play football better than some young men. Interviewee 36's response can be situated in relation to broader constructs of gendered 'talent' and 'ability' within youth sport in which dominant discourses of masculinity serve to construct and position women's bodies as inferior sporting performers (Hargreaves, 1994; Scraton, 1992).

This young woman, Interviewee 36, demonstrated positive embodiment and recognized herself as having a body with an ability that surpassed some young men. She is a young woman who confidently saw her football athleticism as better than some men's. This sounds similar to what Azzarito (2010) defines as new 'alpha femininities': young women who are fit, healthy, physically skilled and able, success oriented and performing better than males.

It is interesting to note that netball, a sport traditionally associated with women, was played by 9 (25%) young women out of a sample of 36. Respondents attributed the low popularity of netball to the official uniform: the body revealing skirts they were forced to wear when playing the game. Some of the young women said netball was 'fine' for them in primary school but no longer appealing to them 'now'. For example one of the young women said:

> *I used to play netball in basic school but now I hate those mini-skirts. I am grown up. I want to look a proper woman when boys are around. When you*

> *jump or bend to catch a ball the skirts cannot cover you. It is shameful. It is not our culture. I cannot play netball when men are watching. They will think I am mahule* (prostitute) *when I am a good girl* (Grade 10, Interviewee 17).

In the response above, the respondent demonstrated self-consciousness about her body and was self-monitoring. She could no longer wear netball skirts that revealed parts of her body in public as she would be regarded a prostitute. According to her, netball accentuated body shame and appearance anxiety and she was aware of the shaming perspectives of male spectators/observers. She was regulating her own behaviour in line with social norms that also regulate women. The tensions between acting out an appropriate femininity and sports participation were stark for this respondent.

The nine young women who played netball wore 'shorts' or 'longs' under the skirts. Such uniform was to them more body covering compared to wearing just skirts and underwear. Respondents were self-regulating by changing netball uniform 'rules' and adopting 'culturally appropriate uniform' to conform to dominant heterosexual femininity when playing the sport. For other sports like basketball, volleyball and football they wore jerseys and shorts like boys and felt more comfortable and less anxious because their bodies were 'well covered'.

The young women in my study lived in a sports system dominated by very visible and high valued men's sports, particularly football. Women's football was relatively new, as it was initially promoted in Lusaka during the 1990s, at least in part with help from external donors, such as the Norwegian Olympic Committee, Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIFs) sport for all programme (Meier and Saavedra 2009). The young women in this study were definitely embracing team and individual sports that are historically and primarily associated with males, and dealing with the tensions this presented for their own gender/sexual identities.

5.6 Young Women's Reasons for Choosing and Participating in the Sports

Gender issues were referred to further in young women's responses to the sub-question why they chose and played male dominated sports. As such in my presentation and analysis of results in this section I illustrate how gender is referenced in their reasons for playing the sports. Based on my analysis of the data, I have organized their responses into four main groups of reasons: personal, for example individual choice/interest,

skills, confidence and ability to play; social, for example support from authoritative and significant others; sport for development, for example safe space, life skills education and peer leadership; and support by Churches.

5.6.1 Personal

Respondents described their individual reasons for playing competitive team and individual sports as a personal choice or interest, a talent and ability to play. This is summed up by two Grade 11 respondents who played football at the coeducational school:

> *It is my choice……It is just my talent and skills…..I enjoy it. I am a good player. I always take part in schools competitions. I play in my community team which plays in the youth league every two weeks. I have played at national level, for example, I was selected to play in the Zone 6 games in Zambia and the COSAFA junior championship in Namibia* (Grade 11, Interviewee 16).

> *I play football. I chose it because of interest and just liked the way it is played* (Grade 11, Interviewee 8).

When probed during an interview, respondent 8 said that her choice came from her heart (how she felt about sport). Apart from personal choice, respondent 16 mentioned talent, skills and playing ability. Typifying this reasoning one young woman, Interviewee 1, said… *sport is a talent. I was born with it and can play. It is a gift from God* (Grade 10, Interviewee 1). With specific reference to her experiences playing football another young woman added:

> *There are us girls who have their minds as able to play sport and we actually do it…every week. I used to ask myself like….. is football about height or about being a boy? In 2009 when I went to Norway I played with different people and we won some matches. Since that time I told myself to say football is not about height or male body. It is about skills and confidence. I have the skills and talent so now I just tell myself that I can do it* (Grade 11, Interviewee 13).

Both quotes indicate that the young women are referring to personal attributes that tended to typify the initial responses of other young sporty women. Although respondents' sense of 'talent' is innate ability in a general way, it appears to me to resonate with what Whitehead (2001) calls physical literacy and ability, which is learned.

Interviewee 13 saw a distinction between young women who had a sense like hers of being able to play football, and others who had a sense of not able to play a man's game. While she had the idea of being skilled and confident to play football, at the same time she appreciated that she was working against a gender norm by playing football, which she associated with masculinity. So despite recognizing her own talent, she revealed that initially she had self-doubt and embodied female inferiority in her performance. Her skills and ability to play competitive sports like football was therefore not just an identity sorting factor but gendered. She challenged the gendered discourse that says football is a male sport and that male bodies are better value than women's to play the game. So to her, as was the case with all young women, playing football was an opportunity to challenge gender norms and stereotypes.

Importantly too, however, her experience of playing football outside the country, and of being successful in competition, had given her confidence to claim space as a footballer, which supported her in playing. In this sense these experiences had given her confidence to reject gender stereotypes and continue playing football. This is consistent with other research (McDermott, 1996; Sisjord 1997; Coakley and White, 1992; Deem and Gilroy, 1998; Garrett, 2004) in which sport and physical activity are claimed to empower girls and young women if they experience themselves as physically competent, confident and capable of developing and maintaining positive relationships.

5.6.2 Social

The young women recognized that participating in sport was not just for personal reasons, or their ability to resist/reject gender norms and stereotypes, but was largely influenced by authoritative and significant others such as parents, friends, local female sport icons (role models), young men with whom they played, women coaches and teachers. Of all the respondents, 18 (50%) claimed that, contrary to what others said about parents opposing participation, family members, especially 'mum' or 'daddy', influenced them to play specific sports. It should be noted, as in the quote of Interviewee 25 below, that the institution of family in Zambia includes extended family. Examples of how the family influenced sport participation are below:

> *I started playing football at 9 years because of my family background: mum and dad played sport and they love sport* (Grade 10, Interviewee 19).

My dad used to own a community club, which I joined and remained part of that club and sport is one of their activities (Grade 10, Interviewee 27).

My mum was a coach and so she encourages me to take part in sport (Grade 11, Interviewee 30).

I play netball, chose this sport because my mum used to play the same sport and she usually participates now. She plays for Zambia National Service Netball team (Grade 10, Interviewee 17).

My uncle plays soccer so when he would go for training he used to take me along and taught me how to play. When I started playing at school, I became one of the best at school level. In Grade 6, I used to play soccer under Kalingalinga Edusport and after an injury, I decided to join netball but I am still good at both sports (Grade 11, Interviewee 25).

What came out strongly in interviews and focus groups was that some of these young women were introduced to the sports when they accompanied family members, such as mum, dad, uncle or siblings, to playgrounds where they played or coached the sport. Respondents described how their parents or guardians were supportive of their sports participation by, for example, giving them permission, providing uniform and equipment and at times coaching. The nine respondents who played netball explained that their mothers in particular felt that it was important for them to take part in sport, and that it was a positive thing for their daughters to do. In these cases, mothers reified gendered sport by telling their daughters netball was a sport suitable for females.

Friends were cited by 16 (44%) respondents as having influenced them to play specific sports. Below I give examples of how four respondents were influenced by friends to play football, netball, tennis and basketball:

I got interested to play netball from childhood. When older people were playing, I would pick up the ball for those who were playing the game. Eventually in grade 9, my friends taught me how to play netball (Grade 11, Interviewee 22).

I started football because my friends introduced me when I was in Grade 3. But most of the friends that I started with stopped, but I cannot stop (Grade 10, Interviewee 21).

In my free time, I would gang up with my friends and play netball until late. For tennis, I have seen friends playing and so I am interested but I have no one to teach me (16 year old Grade 10, Interviewee 33),

My friends invited me, some gave me shoes to play and they encourage me. So when I play a game, I am very happy. My friends, we are laughing together so I am very happy and safe with my friends. We do dances which we are doing here. We have no fear. It's good to me what we are doing here, very good to me (Grade 10, Interviewee 32).

Responses above from interviews show that young women were introduced to or taught sports by friends, and were given playing resources like shoes or safe spaces where they were happy to play. These responses typify what 16 respondents identified as the role of friends, such as they give social support: they did not assess playing ability, they focused on fun and enjoyment of sports. Friends were viewed as more likely to enhance enjoyment of sport by giving confidence, safety and security to their mates and allowing them to perform their best. According to respondents, their friends were female and male peers they knew well who gave them company and were comfortable to be with.

There was a view shared by 10 (28%) respondents that people who are successful in competitive sports participation at community and national level in Zambia are role models, and that they can have a positive impact on individuals who may not be physically active. Two respondents who played football said they were inspired by women who played in community sport and national teams:

How I started to play (football)*, I used to watch girls that play in the national team. Then I joined the school team and I wanted one day to play like those girls in the national team. Until now I have played in the national under 17 team* (Grade 11, Interviewee 28).

I like playing football. I chose it because of interest I had for football but most important I envied to play when I watched big women team on television (18 year old Grade 11, Interviewee 16, who played football only at Coeducation school).

Esther Phiri, a Zambian female boxer, is the woman who was frequently referred to by respondents in focus groups as their national heroine, who was encouraging young women to take up sport. Esther lived in a low-income part of Lusaka where her family struggled to make ends meet. She had an unwanted pregnancy and gave birth to a daughter when she was sixteen years old. By chance, she was trained to be a boxer through a local HIV/AIDS awareness programme that combined health education and sports called "Africa Directions" (Meier and Saavedra, 2009). Esther has won several titles in lightweight boxing, including the WIBA (Women's International Boxing Association) welterweight title in November 2009, the Global Boxing Union Female super featherweight title in April 2008, and the Women's International Boxing Federation Inter-Continental Super Featherweight Title in March 2007. Through her achievements, she not only became a famous *Shero* (NOWSPAR's term for a heroine) but acquired property, which uplifted her from poverty (Meier and Saavedra, 2009).

Women coaches encouraged young women to play netball, basketball and women's football, and provided them with pathways to mainstream leagues and national representative teams. As one of the respondents who played in both club and national football teams said:

> *I am encouraged by women coaches. Now there is even more women coaches coming, some have been trained by FAZ* (Football Association of Zambia). *Sometime back I hear there was not FAZ leagues teams, just played, but now we are able to play in FAZ league and compete and also go outside the country to play with other teams* (Grade 11, Interviewee 20).

In the response above, the young woman showed that women's football was previously not given serious attention by the Football Association of Zambia, a situation that was highlighted in Chapter 2 that male football is a top priority for government's investment in sport.

An interesting observation was that 24 (67%) respondents said they were encouraged by their male peers to play male dominated sports. The young women were also encouraged by coaches to play male sports with young men during training/coaching sessions. In spite of the stereotypical view that young men are stronger and have better skills, young women viewed playing with boys as interesting, enjoyable, helping them to im-

prove their skills, interact positively with young men and, as a result, gain confidence to play. In a focus group discussion, some respondents who played football explained the positive aspects of playing with young men:

> *We play mixed games with boys and we enjoy it. Playing with girls is boring, because girls are generally lazy and boys teach us new tactics. Boys do not discriminate – they are very supportive and encourage us to play together as a class* (Grade 10, Interviewee 11).

> *So they divide the time, like us girls, we start at 3 or 4pm. And after 30 minutes boys join us. But sometimes we play together at the same time with boys. When my coach wants to see how we can play with another team, he makes us play with boys. So it is like a friendly game but training* (Grade 11, Interviewee 8).

> *Playing with boys is a good idea. Boys encourage us. These people also help us develop our skills. It is also interesting these days that there are boys that play and coach netball in my community. It is fun playing with them. We talk and they understand us. I like it* (16 year old Grade 10, Interviewee 7).

> *Playing together with boys is good because I learn a lot from boys. They help me improve my skills and power. I like training with boys more than girls. Girls make you weak and it takes long to improve* (Grade 10, Interviewee 26).

> *At first when I joined my team, it felt weird to train with boys, but later I got used to it, and I feel it is good because you can learn to have power and to be quick and fast on the ball. Because boys have the power and are fast, so I learn from them* (Grade 11, Interviewee 14).

The above quotations may on the surface suggest that mixed sex football practice sessions are an innovative way of including and welcoming young women into the male dominated sports space. While young women expressed interests and value of such activity, their responses emphasize gender differences, especially reaffirming women's inferiority which is built into male models of sport (Jay, 1997).

The discriminatory comment about boring and lazy girls by Interviewee 11 above suggests that some of the young women outside the sample of respondents had adopted or picked a discourse in which they disparage women who play sport. Nevertheless, young

women's ability to play with young men shows some resistance to segregated sport and gendered stereotypes, but their comments clearly demonstrate that they view young men as having better skills. In this instance, the cycle of reproduction and reinforcement of 'feminized' or 'masculinized' views about sports is deep seated. This demonstrates the massive influence of the social environment and its norms, echoing Markula's (2003, p. 61) observation that "Women live and think in a society, and their actions and thoughts are shaped partly by the dominant practices of that society."

Only 14% of respondents claimed that they were introduced or encouraged to play sports by teachers who organized extra-curricular clubs or who spotted their talent. For example two young women said:

> *I started football in 2005 in primary school when the school sports teacher announced for those who wanted to join the school clubs. My teacher encourages me to play. I always take part in schools' competitions. I play in my community team, which plays in the youth league every two weeks. I have played at national level: for example, I was selected to play in the Zone 6 games in Zambia and the COSAFA junior championship in Namibia* (Grade 11, Interviewee 9).

> *I play football and I chose it from school where my teacher spotted me and introduced me to the school team. He continues to support me* (16 year old Grade 10, Interviewee 7).

The response by Interviewee 9, as is the response by Interviewee 7, suggests that young women believed teachers had a role to play in encouraging them to take up male sports. However, according to respondents, teachers were the least influencers of sports participation and, as already discussed in Section 5.2, teaching extra-curricular sport was voluntary.

5.6.3 Sport for development interventions

Respondents were attracted by sport for development activities described in section 5.3 because of a number of factors. The young women felt sport for development gave them the space to be on their own as young women, where they were free and confident to talk or share information about how they could tackle issues that affected them. This is illustrated in the response below:

> *Go Sisters is best for me; we can talk, giving each other ideas without feeling inferior because we are on our own…..boys are not around. So it's very happy to do things here... there are certain times when we need girl time to talk about our things without being shy or afraid or having a workshop full of girls and to talk about what boys do to us and how can avoid problems* (Grade 11, Interviewee 36).

The space was safe and offered a variety of activities, as explained by one respondent who said:

> *At Edusport festivals I am with my friends. I feel safe, free, can play and we do many interesting things. Our teams play netball, volleyball and football against other schools, but we can lose all matches. We are not disappointed as we have fun, drama, singing, dancing and the like. We make many friends from different provinces* (Grade 11, Interviewee 18).

The response above shows that the sports for development activities were not entirely sport dependent, but had additional arts and cultural activities. The additional non-sport activities made the setting informal, enabling them to learn or access information from their peers in a more relaxed manner compared to the confines of classrooms with 'too much discipline'. This is explained by respondent 11 who said:

> *I learn many good things here like human rights, to be equal, to be disciplined, and so on. We can be the four of us here from the same school, we are told things, maybe I understand, maybe I don't. So my friends explain because it's not an exam or competition and then I understand explanations which come out. When we are in class teachers can be talking about HIV and AIDS but how many of us understand? But when we are girls, just girls around or with boys, we understand much information, because of our peers. We share just like when we go home after school we are free to talk many things. At school there is too much discipline… you cannot not even ask other girls about homework question but here you get answers easily together, just like we're from same family... So it's very good, yes* (Grade 10, Interviewee 11).

Respondents liked being coached by peers or young coaches. The peer leaders and coaches were viewed as providing a protected environment in which they could share

and learn, develop trusting relationships and build their individual skills in a supportive space, as Interviewee 30 explained:

> *Peer leaders coach us. They are friendly, very close to us and explain things simply not harsh like some teachers. We are like them and they do not favour. They show us how to play and we learn better and faster* (Grade 11, Interviewee 30).

Young coaches and peers who 'worked' with the young women were regarded as having the knowledge and capability to communicate and interact with the young women, as there was no generational difference. In addition, the young coaches did not come into the playing place with positional power like teachers or coaches from formal sport organizations do. There was a less hierarchical power relationship between young coaches and the young women, as social distance was reduced and age relations were seen as equal.

Apart from being led by their peers, some of the respondents liked the opportunity of becoming peer leaders themselves and to organize recreational sport and physical activities for children in their communities. For example, Interviewee 11 said:

> *It is good you become peer leader. I have taught traditional games like Akalambe* (touch/tag game) *to children and organized the chimpombwa* (improvised ball made at home using plastic waste) *tournament. It is for boys and girls of basic* (primary) *school age. We use Akalambe to teach how HIV is passed from one person to the other. For chimpombwa ball, we show what can be done without expensive equipment for the children to have fun. Chimpombwa tournament rules are set by me, the peer leader, and the children, as we want them to do what they enjoy so they learn good behaviour and the dangers in life such as HIV/AIDS* (Grade 10, Interviewee 11).

In the response above, the respondent tells us that she worked as a peer leader organizing play activities for children. The activities are local recreational and traditional games that involve children making improvised balls, agreeing rules for play, and having fun and informal learning opportunities. As she illustrates in her response, in addition to tournaments, NGOs, as already described in section 5.3, ran cascade peer education activities that encouraged active and health habits, and built confidence and self-

assertiveness in young people. With specific reference to peer education, Interviewee 36 said:

> *They* (sport for development NGOs) *come to our school to tell us at assembly what they do and how we can join. They train us to be healthy, to be empowered and to be ourselves. We go back and recruit at least 10 friends* (peers) *to share what we have learned. Initially I thought I won't manage the task, I have never been given a responsibility before. But two days later I started going in the lower classes to recruit girls and eventually managed to get more than 10 girls. It was not easy as the girls were not listening and shouting you are wasting time. But after my lesson and as time went by I became close to them and I managed to come with most of them during the tournament* (Grade 11, Interviewee 36).

In the response above, the young woman tells us that NGOs offered activities that included health education, 'empowerment' and leadership training. However the young leaders or peer educators found it difficult to cascade the education from sport for development activities due to peer resistance.

5.6.4 Religious support

All respondents were Christians and they said their churches were not against participation in sports. Churches organized sports tournaments for their followers. For example two respondents said:

> *My born again church* (Pentecostal) *encourages me to take part in sport because we usually have games with other churches on Saturdays. Pastors talk about sport as something good which brings God's people together* (Grade 11, Interviewee 29).

> *We have sports at church. The church holds tournaments every year in August. Other Catholic churches come together for this* (Grade 11, Interviewee 5).

Respondent 29 suggests that pastors recognized sport as a tool for fellowship. Most churches used school playgrounds during weekends for their activities. I was able to meet groups of youths from churches at Girls High School who used sport for evangelism. The groups unlike extracurricular sports included in-school and out-of-school

young people and were led by church peer leaders. They sang religious songs, danced and prayed before and after playing sports.

5.7 Discussion

The dominant notion of sport in the two schools was competitive physical activities or games. Young women in my study had opportunities to choose and play male dominated, competitive and aggressive sports that feminist scholars (see, for example, Birrell and Theberge, 1994; Duncan and Messner, 2000; Knoppers and Elling, 2001) argue as having high status and value compared to feminine sports like netball. Extra-curricular sport programmes in the two High Schools were in the hands of men, supporting Hill's (1993) suggestion that gendered sports are incorporated into the education curriculum by males as they have the power and such practice serves their male interests. The extra-curricular sport practice in the two High Schools, as discussed in Chapter 3, typifies hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Mac an Ghaill *et al*., 2001; Frosh *et al*., 2002) and demonstrates that a gender biased sport value system is institutionalized. However, from a liberal feminist perspective, one could argue that the two schools were positively promoting young women's rights to sport, and were contributing to the realization of the gender equality objective by offering young women opportunities to play male sports. Young women playing the same sports as males does not necessarily translate to equality between men and women, as the notion and practice of sports continues to be dominated by men. This is explained in more detail in Chapter 7 on barriers to participation.

There was a conceptual difference and contradiction between sport in schools and NGOs' understanding and use of sport. Sport activities offered by NGOs and churches were educational, recreational and inclusive; a practice one would have expected in schools. In spite of these differences, it is clear there is an opportunity for schools to work in partnership with NGOs in improving the provision of sports to young people in schools, especially in the backdrop of an under-resourced education and school sport system.

The reasons respondents gave for choosing and playing male dominated sports like football, rugby and basketball included personal choice, similar to findings by Corder *et al*. (2013); ability to play, reflecting Yungblut *et al*.'s (2012) findings in their studies of sports participation by women in the UK; socialization (Bandura, 1986; Jowett and

Lavallee, 2007); encouragement and support from significant others like parents (family values, habits, practices as argued by Downward *et al*., 2009) and friends to participate reflecting findings by Sport England (2006), Whitehead and Biddle (2008) in the UK.

Opportunity, encouragement and support enabled young women to play sports. Among all these reasons given by respondents, what stands out or is different for me is that 69% of these young women who played football viewed playing the sport in the presence of young men, or playing with young men in practice sessions, as a form of challenge or silent resistance (Parpat, 2010) to gender norms in traditional sports. Their playing football resonated with Mohanty's (1988) claim that women in Africa are not powerless victims. The young women remind us here that having a voice is not the only form of agency (Hayhurst, 2013). For these young women it was beneficial to play sports.

In the next Chapter I present and discuss the benefits of participation in sports/sport for development activities experienced by young women. I look at the types of benefits the young women were gaining and how these young women felt that sports or sport for development activities provided the benefits.

6
The Benefits of Sports Participation

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present and discuss findings to the research question: *What do young women value or experience as benefits of taking part in sports?* The findings were analysed and are presented here in several sub-groups of benefits, namely social and affective; physical, mental, and reproductive health; and economic opportunities: all loosely based on a schema used by Bailey *et al*. (2009).

The benefits of sports relate to the context in which the young women experienced sport in school, where it was not only marginal but in which a narrow notion of sports (competitive sport) dominated. Beyond the curriculum they had encountered sport for development or sport plus activities, in which development objectives such as gender equity and empowerment were additional to the core objectives of sport. Throughout the discussions of these benefits I include references to the relevant policies including education, sport and sport for development in Zambia, as well as key points from the literature review in Chapter 3.

6.2 Social and Affective benefits

Young women spoke enthusiastically about social and affective benefits they experienced in extra-curricular sports and sport for development activities. Sports provided young women public spaces to develop relationships, social skills and discipline:

> *You interact, you make friends and you learn more skills through this. You have –discipline. I used to be anti-social with girls because I grew up with boys and so sport has helped me to be social* (Grade 11, Interviewee 24).

> *You become disciplined because in sport, there are certain rules and regulations that you need to be follow and you build up on your socializing, you become more social* (Grade 11, Interviewee 9).

> *But my good experiences in peer groups playing sport make you play whole heartedly. In football we learn good things and also our coaches ensure that we grow spiritually because we pray before and after trainings. We are taught how*

> *to stay with people in society. Also I have learnt that to humble yourself is important, not to boast of money* (cash prizes they get for winning a competition) *that we get. Money can finish but the people will always be with you. I also learn to respect the coaches and be disciplined. I do what coaches tell me to do because coaches are like my parents when I am playing sport* (Grade 11, Interviewee 28).

For respondent 9, discipline meant following rules, playing fairly, safely and being humble when winning and generous when losing a competition. Team sports provided respondent 24 with opportunities to also meet peers, communicate, make friends, and accept responsibility and to work as a team. Such benefits are part of the young athlete's education, ethical conduct and fair play expected in competitive sport.

5 respondents who were both players and peer leaders said sport for development activities allowed them to develop leadership skills:

> *I play for the school but I am a peer leader in Edusport, and coordinator. It is different from prefect. You just help with school discipline. I run sessions and organize sports* (for peers and children) *and sponsors like me* (Grade 11, Interviewee 28).

Leadership skills referred to the ability to plan, train peers, organize and publicise their sports or sport for development activities. Interviewee 28 saw additional responsibilities of running sport sessions and getting sponsorship. A peer leader was compared to a school prefect who works alongside teachers to ensure discipline and an environment that is conducive to learning.

In addition to the social benefits and development of soft skills such as leadership, sports provided young women with multiple affective benefits including enjoyment, a sense of achievement as well as increased confidence and self expression. Enjoyment, which is not easy to measure or compare (Wellard, 2014), was highlighted as a benefit of playing sport by many young women, as illustrated by one respondent:

> *I get to play and enjoy my talent and show people what I am capable of and can offer* (Grade 11, Interviewee 34).

This young woman, respondent 34, related the pleasure of playing to her own 'talent' and to her public demonstration of it as part of her enjoyment. This is interesting as one could ask how, as a young woman, she enjoyed sport in public spaces in a context where patriarchal and cultural practices confine females to domestic space or feminine behaviour in public spaces. How could she enjoy sport spaces that are known to be masculine and have public gazes that trivialize and constrain female performances?

The young women enjoyed their talent partly because, as described in Chapter 5, parents and friends supported them to choose and play sports, and sport for development interventions helped to develop their confidence, greater self-belief, the capacity to perform, speak out in public spaces or ignore discouraging remarks from the public. This is illustrated by responses below from two young women:

> *This* (peer leadership) *help to build my confidence and believing in ourselves and what we can do* (Grade 10, Interviewee 6).

> *But what I have learnt is to believe in yourself and have confidence and not to get what people are talking about you, like sport is bad for girls, but to focus on the dream* (Grade 11, Interviewee 30).

The response by Interviewee 30 shows that these young women were aware of the discourse that disparages women who participate in sport. Ignoring such 'talk' was one of the strategies they employed to navigate gendered sport (see Chapter 7).

Young women regarded the sport space as the place where they could develop confidence and self-worth, partly because as already stated in Chapter 5, the spaces were more informal and relaxed compared to the classroom space in which some young women were not confident to participate or speak. For example two of the respondents said:

> *In the classroom we see one, two, not talking, and the one who will seem to have no answer to the maths question that is being asked. But if it comes to sports, you know the teacher is relaxed, the girl opens up, you know, she's free to jump around, to talk, to shout, you know, that's the time they even voice out* (Grade 10, Interviewee 32).

> *By doing that peer leadership, I am confident and I can speak out for myself, even in public. So it has given me a sense of….eh…eh… what do you call this, of being, to stand up on my own* (Grade 10, Interviewee 33).

Evidently sports participation had helped these young women to develop a stronger sense of their potential and self-worth. The confidence and a sense of self-worth enabled the young women to play and win sports competitions and, as a consequence, gain admiration and public acclaim:

> *……at assembly or parents' day they mentioned my name as best footballer* (Grade 11, Interviewee 8).

> *People see me as a role model because of what I have achieved at only 16 years in terms of even able to play at national level, which is rare for many of the girls out there who admire and wish to play in the (Under 17) national team. Like you know, people get inspired and feel good, some have opportunity to play because they have seen the good things that I get from football. Some treat me like a celebrity.....* (laughs)....*am a role model to others* (Grade 10, Interviewee 3).

In an education and social context marked by poverty, HIV/AIDS and gendered inequalities, and where examination results in academic subjects matter, competitive sports offered young women alternative opportunities to perform that made them feel valued and respected, get public recognition and status, feel good and have self-regard. The social and affective benefits, discussed in this section are attributed both to the social, emotional and education processes inherent in sports and sport for development activities. The social conditions, such as support of parents, friends, peer leaders, teachers and coaches discussed in Chapter 5, helped with an enabling environment for young women to realize the benefits.

6.3 Physical, Mental, Sexual and Reproductive Health Benefits

Respondents spoke about how sport kept them physically active, fit and healthy as illustrated by quotes below:

> *But I think competitive sport gets you fit and strong because you are always active. Having nchafu* (strong calf muscles) *is not a problem* (Grade 10, Interviewee 21).

> *In sport you become very active. You keep fit. You do not get sick a lot and you stop being lazy. Helps maintain health* (Grade 11, Interviewee 2).

To achieve fitness and strength, young women had to ignore myths about how sport changes women's feminine body appearance, as suggested by Interviewee 21 when she talked of herself not being worried about developing calf muscles or possessing physical embodiment of men as a result of sports participation. The comment by this young woman typified how these young women, as will be seen in Chapter 7, ignored, trivialized or resisted the discourse that maintains masculine hegemony, and/or discourages women from participating in sport.

In addition to the physical sense of wellbeing that was expressed by the young sports women, some also referred to cognitive benefits of sports participation:

> *Sport helps you think; makes you mentally active and if you are good at a sport, someone will always recognize your effort and so you will never stay at the same level* (Grade 11, Interviewee 14).

> *Since it keeps the body active, you tend to think fast mentally as well. If you have a bad temper, sport helps you calm down, because you socialize with others* (Grade 10, Interviewee 26).

By mentally active, respondent 14 meant that she set personal goals, concentrated, had commitment and the right attitude to play sport. Part of the response by Interviewee 26 above suggests that, in addition to mental alertness, sport helps in managing tempers or emotions.

Given that the interviews were with a school-based sample it was not surprising to hear the benefits in terms of thinking referred to by the above respondents. Importantly, however, these benefits were related to other associated benefits. Interviewee 14 referred to the way that public participation leads to public recognition not available to non-sports players, and in turn this is seen as offering other opportunities like sponsorship. For Interviewee 26 the benefits in thinking were related to more social and emotional control afforded through playing with others. The awareness of active and healthy living by young women should not be surprising as the sport for development activities had a health message.

For some of the respondents, as seen in five quotations below, sport diverted them from sexual activity and alcoholism that leads to ill health and early pregnancy:

> *When we close school and go on holiday, we just watch TV and due to peer pressure, if you go for sport, you do not think about misbehaving because by the time you are done with your sports activity, you will be too tired and it will be too late for you to think of anything of the sort. For instance, I play rugby and I used to go for training with Red Arrows and go back home late so when I go home, I just sleep and I just go to school the next day* (Grade 11, Interviewee 25).

> *Because some people go and they become prostitutes but we are healthy and we are doing sport* (Grade 10, Interviewee 31).

> *You know that girls face a lot of problems like getting pregnant early, so playing sport makes us busy that is why most girls in my community envy and join sport* (Grade 11, Interviewee 15).

> *It is better I get bend legs* (injured legs from sport) *than getting pregnant or go to drink beer. Through sport they don't know that it helps, like I can contribute even like to buy a plot. This is true: I have bought my plot for my family from the money I got when we went to South Africa* (Grade 11, Interviewee 36).

> *I think sport makes me and other girls busy doing something constructive than things like….going to bars…. (Laughs)* (Grade 11, Interviewee 35).

The quotations above also highlight social problems or obstacles young women faced such as peer pressure to be idle, prostitution, unwanted pregnancies, alcoholism, and broken families. It is these social problems and health issues that sport for development activities were aiming to address, as mentioned in Chapters 2, 3 and 5. It was interesting to hear young women give personal accounts of how interventions provided by NGOs, such as Sport in Action and Edusport, enabled them to receive and give helpful HIV/AIDS and reproductive health information. For example, one of the young women said:

> *In Go Sisters, it is not all about sport: we benefit a lot as we learn HIV/AIDS, good friendship and life* (life skills) (Grade 11, Interviewee 4).

The reference to learning about HIV/AIDS and life skills by Interviewee 4 was further evidence that respondents participated in sport for development activities mentioned in Chapters 2 and 5. As discussed in Chapter 5, the sporting environment in which the respondents played sport was one that was not only based on competition and individual performance but had additional activities; these included peer leadership, life skills training and raising awareness of HIV/AIDS. So while sports in a global context carry particular symbolic and cultural meanings, these meanings can be changed and contextualized at a local level. This, in turn, suggests that one cannot generalize sports, sports processes and circumstances that produce personal and social benefits for participants in different contexts. What was clear was that sport was integrally connected to education and health, specifically in peer education, giving and receiving health information.

6.4 Economic Benefits and Opportunities

Respondents spoke about economic benefits and opportunities associated with livelihood and prospects for employment through sport. Respondents in focus group discussions spoke about earning status and financial rewards through sport. For example, three participants in focus group discussion said:

> *First I was selected for Zone VI youth games. Played good and joined club….I am proud of all that and known in the village as star. I am offered many gifts like money, clothes. I contribute to my school fees* (Grade 11, Interviewee 16).

> *Every time we played rugby, I got better at it and so I would win something and that inspired me to carry on and I finally got a medal and prize money in 2011. I have bought clothes with the money* (Grade 11, Interviewee 36).

> *When we play in compounds we play games whereby two teams put money together and whoever wins takes the money, so we are able to make a little money for ourselves. …. I got medal and prize at All Africa Games and bought shoes for my sister. If you play good it is better than small jobs* (low paying jobs) (Grade 11, Interviewee 13).

For respondents 13, 16 and 36, gifts, medals and prize money are the rewards they received. The prize money was used to buy clothes or pay for schools fees. Sports gave

some young women hope for future jobs in sport or continuing education through scholarships. For example, one of the young women said:

> *My ambition is to help my life. I want to do it for my profession after school. I want to gain a scholarship to go abroad and once I am there I can engage myself in sport. Look, in my family we are nine of us and I am the fifth born. So some of my sisters married early and we are not staying together. So now am like the first born and I want to be unique to be an example. My parents are growing old. Since I play sport, I can help my life and my young brother. If my parents die, relatives cannot manage to take care of me and my brother. So I want to work hard in sport to make my life good in future* (Grade 11, Interviewee 29).

This young woman, Interviewee 29, also felt she had a responsibility to look after herself and her siblings in the event of her parents passing on. This comment should not be surprising as there are many HIV/AIDs orphans or child headed families in Zambia (see Chapter 2).

6.5 Discussion

The benefits described in this chapter are based on experiential accounts from the young women and not speculative views about benefits. The benefits they identified resonate with the four broad domains of physical, social, affective and cognitive benefits that Bailey *et al*. (2009) identified as laying the basis or justification for the inclusion of physical education and sport in the school curriculum. Enjoyment, as discussed in the literature review, came out as an important and essential benefit: they enjoyed masculine sports not feminine sports. The respondents' claims about benefits reflect some of the intentions of sport for development interventions in Zambia in terms of young women's personal and social development, and generally for tackling HIV/AIDS (Brady and Khan, 200; Brady, 2005, 2010; Koss and Alexandrova, 2005; Right to Play, 2008; Maro *et al*., 2009; Kay *et al*., 2013).

In identifying benefits of sport to young people, Bailey *et al*. (2009) and scholars in sport for development tend to be gender blind, and yet these young women were very gender aware when they spoke about benefits. Their responses show that playing sports offered these young women a valuable public space to speak out, express their abilities

through movement, challenge gender stereotypes, increase their self-belief and self-confidence, and develop a sense of positive embodiment.

As discussed in Chapter 5, these benefits identified by the young women were realized in an education context where young women 'were allowed' to play male sports, and in a context where national policy supported the use of sport in addressing development objectives. What supported the young women to gain the benefits of playing male dominated extra-curricular sports were parents, friends, peers and significant others, and the use of sport as a platform for education, information dissemination and building social relationships. Although the young women experienced benefits, the next chapter reports on barriers to sports participation the young women experienced and how they overcome those barriers in a way that enabled them to play and enjoy sports.

7
Navigating and Negotiating Barriers to Sports Participation

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings of the research question: *What barriers to sports participation have young women experienced, how has gender played its part in this and how have they overcome these barriers?* The analysis of the respondent interviews revealed multiple barriers experienced by the young women and how they navigated and negotiated these barriers. I have gathered young women's stories of their experiences together under key headings that include the notion of sport in school and how it is organized, restrictions to space and resources, and regulation of expected feminine behaviour. In presenting their stories I make reference to key points from the literature review in Chapter 3.

7.2 Notion of School Sport

As already described in Chapter 5, young women played sports that are historically and culturally defined and shaped by masculine values and experiences, rooted in celebrating young men's strength, power and aggression in a physical contest (Hall, 1996; McKay *et al*., 2000; Bourg and Gouguet, 2010). These sports originate from the Global North (Giulianotti, 2004; Shehu, 2010). The sports are played in sex segregated groups and the only time when young women played with their male peers was, as already discussed in Chapter 5, during practice sessions as the coaches believed such mixed play improved young women's skills and ability to play sports. The young women were aware of the sexist assumptions that sport is for boys. For example, one of respondents said:

> *Sport is something just for boys. Games are rated boys' games. Soccer is labelled a boy's game and it is difficult for us to compete as the boys have better skill than us in competitive sport. So I strive to be good at the game and get recognized, but it is not easy because people watching say things like she is a girl, what can she do on the pitch? This is a boys' game and this is a challenge we face* (Grade 10, Interviewee 12).

The response from the young woman, Interviewee 12, shows that there was a 'gender logic' (Coakley and White, 1992) or fallacious common sense discourse circulating that suggested young women are 'naturally' inferior to young men in sports. To counter the discourse they 'strived to be good at the game' (good measured against male standards), but still they were either discouraged by disparaging remarks or were not expected to play men's games better than males.

In both schools references to sports were infused by masculine references that included, for example, the teachers responsible for sport were called the sports 'masters' and match officials were called lines*men* irrespective of their gender. The young women recognized the male-dominated culture of sport itself and presented this as a problem. The young women liked competitive sports, but they did not like behaviours that went with the sports such as being over-competitive and aggressive, as illustrated by the response below:

> *We like these sports…. competition is good for us…we want to win but I do not like it when referees are not fair. They favour teams and some schools cheat age, argue a lot about rules and sometimes fight while playing or when they lose. This happens a lot with boys. We are ladies we cannot fight like boys* (Grade 10, Interviewee 11).

Respondent 11 liked competitive sports but viewed such sports as 'bad' when officials were 'not fair', or when there was negative behaviour such as age-cheating, fighting and arguing, which according to the respondent characterizes male sports. It is the masculinities associated with competitive sports, such as aggression, that were difficult for young women to embrace.

For young women at the Coeducation High School, the association of sports with males is perpetuated by the sports master and teachers when they selected teams to represent the schools. 'Boys are favoured' and quotes below from two young women are examples of gender discrimination and unfair treatment:

> *When there is a tournament outside school, they* (teachers) *are not fair. They just pick those who are favoured by the ones choosing. Better players are left out. For rugby, the school management does not pay much attention to them. Last year, our team came first in Lusaka province but we were not allowed to go for*

> *games because the sports union had already selected the boys to go for that tournament. Then we were told at short notice to go but again we were left out and they only took the footballers* (Grade 11, Interviewee 13).

> *For instance, there was a tournament for both girls and boys and there was inadequate transport for us all. The boys got priority. This is because they say girls are slow in sport as compared to boys and so school authorities feel it would be better to take the boys. I personally think we can do it as girls* (Grade 10, Interviewee 12).

For Interviewee 12, as with all the young women, she felt she was good at sport but had restricted access to higher levels of sports competitions as preference was given to young men by school authorities. What I understand here is gender-based bias in school sports, as young men had more opportunities to move up the competition ladder compared to their female peers.

It was evident from the young women's responses that sport for development activities had provided them with opportunities to interact and integrate sports with young men, share information, develop confidence, self-belief and self-discipline, which they in turn used as a resource to face gender-based challenges they experienced in sport:

> *In EduSport we are taught to have confidence…to believe in ourselves. We know we were born equal hence what a boy can do, so can I. I can play any game. We talk about these things and we even play together equal* (Grade 10, Interviewee 6).

> *We receive a lot of information about gender, HIV/AIDS, which help us to know what to do, what not to do and how to prevent things like abuse or falling pregnant* (Grade 10, Interviewee 11).

Responses by Interviewees 6 and 11 typify the responses interviewees gave when asked about how they dealt with gender-based problems in sport. Without self-confidence and information, the sporting spaces would be intimidating to young women.

7.3 Time Constraints

The young women had restricted opportunities to play sports due to the domestic demands on them out of school and the education demands in school. 20% of respondents said their parents expected them to be home early to help with household chores:

> *Parents does* (do) *not seem to care about involvement in sport. They believe that a girl's place is in the kitchen, and boys spend more time selling goods or playing with their friends than us* (Grade 11, Interviewee 29).

The response of Interviewee 29 suggests that sport is related to a number of gendered assumptions about space, work and leisure, which are experienced differently by men and women. The discursive context places women in the home to do domestic activities like cooking; these are not recognized as work but their time demands leave women as much free time to play.

The respondents were all in school and they claimed that their desire to succeed in academic subjects, coupled with parental pressure to focus on school work, affected their participation in sports. Education demands constrained their time and energy to combine school work and sport. Respondents prioritized school work over sports. The comment by respondent 27 that, *I put school first so it is not a problem going to school at the same time play sport* (Grade 10, Interviewee 27), typified respondents' views of school work and sports. They said they managed their time, and during tests or examinations they stopped playing sport. For example, Interviewee 20 said:

> *Since I started going to school, I have always gone to school in the morning and go for sport training in the afternoon. I have two hours at home after knocking off from school. I use these two hours to do a bit of house chores; then I go for training and come back home at 5p.m. Then I study during night time. I don't have a problem because I divide my time and am used to spending my days like this. For examinations I stop sports* (Grade 11, Interviewee 20).

However respondent 17 had to repeat a grade after missing examinations:

> *Because of playing sport, I missed grade 9 examinations due to football. Sometimes when you are selected to go and play, you leave school, like I left for South*

Africa and just came to write my mock examinations. But I missed the final exams. So now I would have been in grade 11 but I am in grade 10 because I repeated grade 9 (Grade 10, Interviewee 17).

There was no evidence in young women's responses of a positive relationship between their participation in sports and their likelihood of achieving academic success compared to those who do not play sports. In any case the relationship between sport and academic achievement is more complex and interviews alone cannot provide enough data to make an analysis. Responses by Interviewees 20 and 17 show that sport participation interfered with academic work, especially during examinations time.

7.4 Restrictions to Space and Resources

Another barrier to their participation was articulated in terms of not having sports equipment, or gender discrimination in the distribution of regulated equipment and clothing for playing sport. They placed the blame for this on teachers, school head-teachers and school parent-teacher associations. The problem of limited access to regulated uniform is highlighted in responses below of two respondents:

We have inadequate sports attire, and if you do not have your own sports attire, you are not allowed to take part in sport. The school has sports attire for a few sports disciplines and for those on the bench and when they switch, they have to exchange with each other and this is not healthy because of sweat. When we talk to management, we are told that the school does not have money to buy sports attire and that it is a long process for them to buy jerseys. They always come up with stories (Grade 11, Interviewee 5).

During interschool competitions, we usually wear our own clothes. Usually we wear pink tops with bum shorts and leggings. The bibs that are there are very few and so those on the bench have to exchange with those in the game (Grade 11, Interviewee 10).

Respondents said they used their own attire or had to exchange recycled and dirty uniforms among themselves. Respondents from poor backgrounds had to accept sharing dirty uniforms, while those from wealthy backgrounds brought their own uniforms and equipment and sometimes donated their used clothing to the less privileged.

Where equipment and clothing for sport was available its distribution by teachers favoured young men, as described in the responses below:

> *Mostly, equipments are not equally given to us girls as boys. Not having what you want to use demotivates us. Sometimes football for men is paid more attention than girls' football. Sometimes I just want to continue playing because I love football but without balls how can I play*? (Grade11, Interviewee 13).

> *But about things like boots and balls, we don't just have our own that was bought for us. We get leftovers or second-hand from the boys - that is what they give us to wear. It is not good - we are the same and things should be balanced. You know because of such things that happen, if you have no equipment you can't continue to play. Sport is the same, we play the same but equipment is not given fairly for us* (Grade10, Interviewee 3).

In the responses above there is reference to their male peers having better access to equipment and young women getting left-overs even though they played the same sport as males. This typifies the gender bias that existed at the Coeducation High School in terms of allocation of resources for sport. Clothing and equipment for sports was limited, inaccessible and expensive for young women, and without proper clothing and equipment for competitive sport, young women looked out of place and consequently this forced them to stop playing sports. In a context of limited sports budgets, teachers had to make choices on the allocation of resources and these consistently favoured males. Where schools could afford to provide sports uniform its use depended on young women being able to win competitions. The limited access to equipment and uniform young women faced was compounded by sport grounds that were in a poor state and male dominated, as illustrated in pictures 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 .

Picture 7.1: Football ground at Coeducation High School dominated by young men

To have access to the playing space respondents at the Coeducation School said they put pressure on teachers to instruct young men to give up the space at agreed times. They also negotiated playing space silently by, for example, *borrowing the space for a short time*, …..*waiting for their chance*…. or *playing together with young men* (Grade 11, Interviewee 9).

At the Girls High School sports facilities had been neglected for many years and were no longer suitable for use (see pictures7.2 and 7.3 below.

Picture 7.2 to the left is the tennis court and Picture 7.3 on the right is the swimming pool at Girls High School, last used in 1970

The young women complained to school leadership about the poor state of facilities but they were not listened to. Interviewee 30 said:

> *We do complain to our teachers about the limited sport facilities but we get no solution. We are ignored. Every year, we pay sports fund as part of our school*

> *fees but we do not know where the money goes. Even if there are PTA meetings, some parents are not interested in sport and others feel as though everything is alright in terms of sports. They usually are concerned with issues such as security of their children and academics. I doubt that they even discuss sport in such meetings* (Grade 11, Interviewee 30 at Girls High).

The comments made by Interviewee 30 above, typifies the lack of voice that young women had on the matters that affected them. In the above extract the comment about the use of sport fees and the lack of concern for sport by the parents-teacher-association illustrates the low value placed on sport in education.

Other playing grounds in the community were also in a poor state with no changing rooms or other amenities for either young men or women (see pictures 7.4 and 7.5 below).

Pictures 7.4 and 7.5: Community playgrounds (courtesy of UK Sport IDEALS project)

One of the young women described the community sport facilities as:

> *Full of potholes, broken bottles, no change rooms, no toilets. There are no nets for goal posts, the pitch has sand. We have not trained for volleyball for a very long time. Private schools and clubs have better facilities, e.g. Baobab so we hope the new government will change things* (Grade 10, Interviewee 1).

Continuing to speak about the community sport grounds, she said they were unwelcoming to young women as there were no changing rooms, whereas *men just go behind trees* (Interviewee 1). The ease for young men compared to young women was a further gender effect that was an additional barrier to young women.

The lack of changing rooms and toilets had a negative effect on female hygiene. The young women said playing sport made them sweaty but there were no changing rooms at the Coeducation High School for them to freshen up. So they resorted to wiping themselves with wet towels so that they 'smell fresh' in presence of young men. In addition, 12 of the 36 young women (7 of 18 respondents at the Coeducation school and 5 of 18 respondents at Girls High school all from poor backgrounds) said they could not afford to buy sanitary napkins or pads suitable to play sports. Even young women with access to pads or tampons said they felt uncomfortable during periods. So they avoided sport during periods and many of their peers simply gave up sport quietly, to avoid embarrassment. In focus group discussion, two participants said:

> *I am uncomfortable playing during my periods…..for instance netball and swimming…..not all of us can afford the pads. Where will I stand if boys saw me* (Grade 11, Interviewee 22).

> *I do not like sport during my menstrual every month, I am ashamed boys can see. I do not always have all the things like eh you know* (Grade 11, Interviewee 15).

Young women were self-conscious about their bodies and appearance, particularly during their menstrual period, and feared that males would see their soiled underwear or that their bodies would not smell fresh after sport. The lack of changing rooms and toilet facilities led the young women to temporarily stop participation in sport during 'periods'. There is an indication in both cases that these young women were policing themselves to avoid compromising their body image that conformed to normative heterosexual femininity.

The situation at the Girls High School was different as their amenities and playing fields were a female-only social space. The young women at this school said it was essential to provide women-friendly facilities and spaces where they can have independence and autonomy to play their own activities on their own terms.

> *We have chance to form up our own basketball team. Things are changing. Girls now play soccer: you can see a bunch of girls coming together playing soccer, rugby or anything, we never had that* (Grade 11, Interviewee 22).

Women friendly spaces allowed respondents to know and trust each other and work together. The school playgrounds were safe places where they felt a sense of freedom to exercise their rights.

Sport for development interventions also included the concept of safe spaces in schools and communities. This was supported by UNICEF Zambia as part of their International Inspiration programme in Zambia:

> *Now because of Sport in Action and UNICEF the school grounds are safe for us girls to play without fear. Even when we go to tournaments like Wallace Tournament, it is safe and you can enjoy* (Grade 11, Interviewee 14).

To explain the concept of safe space includes playing place that is women friendly, that is where young women feel physically and emotionally safe and secure. It is a public place where young women are protected from harm, including sexual abuse and preventable sport injuries. In a safe sport space, young women feel free to speak out, without fear of judgement, prejudice or intimidation. They can share their concerns and discuss sensitive topics.

In this section I have provided evidence from the young women of male power and privilege, gender bias that favoured young men in the allocation of resources and spaces for sport. This male domination of sport spaces reflects findings of studies by Lenskyj (1990), Vertinsky (2004), Brady (2005), Dunne (2007), and Clark and Paechter (2007) in a range of institutional contexts. Males dominate spaces and resources for sports and echo a gender hierarchy that positions women's bodies as inferior to male bodies (Choi, 2000; Hargreaves, 1994; Scraton, 1992). Males are also seen as more skilled and able sports performers than females and, as a consequence, are accorded higher value and get the biggest allocation of resources for sport.

The sense I get from young women in my study is, in agreement with Saavedra's (2009) findings, that patriarchal culture and hegemonic power in Zambia gives young men privilege and domination of the spaces and resources. The domination is hegemonic meaning that it is understood as a form of institutionalized power accepted by different groups as if it is 'natural' or common sense (Connell, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994). One could suggest that the gendering of the playing space in Lusaka, Zambia is part of the wider historical and cultural patriarchal structures, decision-making systems and prac-

tices in that, according to the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE, 2009), men are seen as the owners of the land while women are regarded merely as temporary users or tenants.

7.5 Regulated Behaviour

Young women spoke of efforts by their peers, parents and significant others to discourage or restrict them from playing sport or engaging in 'men's activity'. They were shamed or threatened by, for example, reference to being prostitutes, including questioning their sexuality and religious faith. In particular, the uniform for netball incited threats from young men. For example Interviewee 18 said:

> *They* (young men) *say we show our privates so we are prostitutes. They say we will not get husband if we play with* (in) *netball gear* (uniform) (Grade 11, Interviewee 18).

The comment by the young woman, Interviewee 18, shows how young women are regulated by comments about their uniforms as culturally inappropriate and demands that they wear more modest dress in the presence of males. The young women were discouraged from engaging in sport by their non-sporty peers, as illustrated in quotations below:

> *Girls talk too much……..there is too much jealousy amongst girls……girls tell a lot of false stories* (Grade 11, Interviewee 25).

> *Also people's negative views or comments they make like mmmm, wasting time. They say, have you nothing better to do like watching TV, going to cinemas, no boyfriend and the like? And some say……let us go to Malata* (nearby village compound) *to drink beer and have fun* (Grade 11, Interviewee 29).

> *Girls usually comment that instead of going out having fun, you are there playing netball, you are boring. So this can make other girls to stop or not to play sport. I have heard some people say you can't go anywhere, you can just be a prostitute* (Grade 10, Interviewee 33).

In the above extracts, the female respondents describe pressure from peers suggesting they should watch television, go to cinemas, have boyfriends or go for beer drinking. It

is important to note here that their women peers at school had a view that passive recreational activities and drinking beer was more valuable than sports. This is may be because the non-sporty young women were not participating in sport for development that attempted to tackle such activities.

Other discouragement reported by the young sports women was spectator criticism that increased during competitive sport matches. When they did not play well or up to the expectation of spectators they were criticized as being weak, unskilled and wasting time. When they displayed strong and skilled performance, their sexuality tended to be queried by both males and females. Interviewee 13 said she was queried about her nchafu (calf muscles), her boyish looks and why she was so good at playing football. She, like six of the twenty-five young women who played football, said she was not bothered by perceptions of their sexuality as she considered herself normal:

> *Most people say you can destroy your life. And the way I dress they think I am destroying my life. They say you are tarnishing your image like looking like a boy because I like shaving my hair. But my reaction to that is that it is okay because I have chosen sport in life. I am normal* (Grade 11, Interviewee 13).

One of the six young women, Interviewee 25, enjoyed being with 'boys' more than being with 'girls' and was not bothered by comments questioning her sexuality:

> *I have manners of boys. I like to hang out with boys and talk about sports and boy stuff. I do not like girls: they talk too much about hair-do, make-up, the latest styles. Girls think I behave like a boy…they doubt me but I do not care* (Grade 11, Interviewee 25),

Interviewee 35 was much more explicit about her sexuality:

> *I see myself as a boy – I have always been like this. I behave like a boy and others look at me with strange eyes….. this makes me play soccer better. I do not like girls' games like netball. I like the way boys play and I like their games* (Grade 11, Interviewee 35).

It can be suggested from responses above that these young sports women are not concerned about their sexuality and were resisting the regulations of heteronormativity

(Ravel and Rail, 2007; 2008). The young women quoted above seem to suggest that as 'tomboys' the sport space is for them to be (Caudwell, 1999).

For some of the young women it was not just the threats and pressures to maintain femininity but that this was related to their culture, as quotes below show:

> *People should not ask if you are a boy or girl. We need to follow our culture and what parents expect of us girls* (Grade 11, Interviewee 30).

> *We are girls. The most important thing is that we should try by all means to maintain our feminine looks as I do* (Grade 10, Interviewee 11).

Interviewee 11 suggested that there were young women who believed that as women they should always have feminine looks when they play sports. Parents regulated their behaviour through pressing them to conform to heteronormative femininity and through discourses of sport as promoting harm or bad behaviour for young women. Parental attempts at regulation are illustrated by four young women recorded during focus groups:

> *We (girls) are willing to take part in sport but parents are not supportive. They feel that our place is in the kitchen and that sport is a useless thing* (Grade 11, Interviewee 34).

> *Parents think that when we get involved in sport, we will only get interested in girl/boy relationships, which will result in early or teenage pregnancies* (Grade 10, Interviewee 21 at Girls High).

> *Some parents say that their girl children should not take part in sport because we become boys like legs developing nchafu* (calf muscles) (Grade 11, Interviewee 4).

What interviewee 21 said about parents' attitudes to sport contrasts with messages from sport for development NGOs. When probed to explain why parents had that attitude she explained that they were not involved in the activities. Young women who kept their femininity wore uniforms that did not reveal their bodies or simply conformed to their feminine identity:

> *To me it's important to be the way you are, keep to look like a girl because it is easy to be identified as female not where people have different opinions about you, like asking you whether you are a girl or not. We need to follow our culture and what parents expect of us girls* (Grade 11, Interviewee 30).

Thirty of the thirty-six young women said they had developed self-belief and confidence to ignore, dismiss or trivialize disparaging comments from peers and some parents about playing sport. For example, two young women, Interviewees 16 and 21 said:

> *Some girls and boys are too talkative…….they want to bring down others but we ignore them* (Grade 10, Interviewee 21).

> *They shout and talk at our back. We ignore. We only need to know the game and play it well. It is my determination and heart to play. But some think when you play much more sport you will start looking less woman. But for me that do not matter. I do not listen to such comments because I know that football helps my life* (Grade 11, Interviewee 16).

To manage pressure from parents to drop sports some young women also ignored parents' views of sport. As one young woman said:

> *It really hurts that those* (parents) *who are supposed to be supporting me say bad things about sports, but since I have it in me that I want to do it, I do not let their comments get to me* (Grade 11, Interviewee 13).

Stopping friendship with those who criticized their participation in sport was one way of dealing with peer pressure. For example, one young woman said:

> *I stop friendship with bad girls, do my best and succeed* (Grade 11, Interviewee 10).

At times it was not disparaging comments but love proposals from young men they had to deflect:

> *When we play with boys, some are not for sport… the boys propose love…this makes us uncomfortable. Our first reaction is we tell them off or we simply walk away* (Grade 11, Interviewee 36).

If the young men became aggressive or abusive the young women chased the men away ….*we once ganged up against them* (young men) *and drove them away* (Interviewee 18). Not all young men were disruptive and abusive: they were supportive, played with the young women and helped them to feel safe in male dominated spaces:

> *We do not feel harassed or intimidated; good boys support us. We feel safe when they are with us. I have a male friend who is teaching me basketball so even if they come* (Young men) *they cannot approach me* (Grade 11, Interviewee 29).

In addition to cultural and parental pressure, the maintaining of a feminine appearance by young women was reinforced by religion, Christianity, as four respondents said:

> *We were born women, we should look like women, be ourselves made to have children and that is God's plans for us* (Grade10, Interviewee 1).

> *I cannot be against God's creation: how will people look at me if I look like a boy?* (Grade 11, Interviewee 2).

> *How did we come into being? I always follow what mum tells me from the Bible: that God created man and woman not women to look like men* (Grade 11, Interviewee 4).

> *God made man plus woman and it's just that He made us different. God gives, it's God's will for me to be a woman, to have relationships with the opposite sex to have children* (Grade 10, Interviewee 6).

The above responses show that some of the young women in my study held restrictive discourses of biology and Christianity as determining behaviour in 'doing' sport. They suggest the masculine qualities required for sport should be enacted in a feminine manner. Their responses suggest that heteronormative sexuality should not be destabilized as they fear it is against biology and God. So there was difference among the young women in terms of how they should appear and look when playing sports.

7.6 Gender Based Violence

A disturbing finding of this research was the prevalence of gender-based violence in sport. It was heart rending when one of the Grade 11 participants in focus group discussion said:

> *When we play with boys, some boys propose love to us and sometimes even teachers and this also makes us uncomfortable. Our first reaction would be to tell them off and walk away. If you accept, you will not concentrate on the game. If you refuse, the boy will make you feel inferior and you may get discouraged and stop playing the game. On the part of teachers, it has never really happened in sport but in clubs such as cadets, girls are made to sleep with teachers in charge so as to get influential positions* (Grade 11, Interviewee 16).

During interviews, respondents admitted that they had heard of the often protected patriarchal culture of different forms of sexual harassment in sport. They said they had heard that outside school sport contexts, some men, especially coaches and members of the sport entourage, use or manipulate their position in order to get sexual favours from the female athletes, but if a young woman is strong nobody can force her.

One participant narrated the experience of a 17-year-old school girl (name withheld) who kept receiving suggestive texts on her mobile phone from her football coach and was dropped as soon as she shared her ordeal with a male in a position of authority in the club. The male, an administrator, was not helpful, as he turned out to be one of the most advanced in the practice of abusing girls and women. Participants confirmed hearing about this story. Although this story is anecdotal, it supports the widely reported gender-based violence in Zambia discussed in Chapter 2. This is clearly a significant barrier to sports participation of young women.

In addition, the following narratives from participants during focus group discussions also illustrate gender-based violence in sport:

> *In sport, people have one night stands whereby for some people to get to the next level, people responsible are corrupt so they take advantage of the fact that she is female and if you refuse, you will be dropped. It sometimes happens with*

coaches but this does not happen in the school scenario but happens a lot in clubs (Grade 11, Interviewee 8).

Please help us stop the sexual abuse of young girls that has been happening at …… Sport Association (Name edited out by researcher). *The leader ……* (name edited out by researcher) *and his friends are using their power to take advantage of girls who trust their leadership. It is common knowledge that ……*(name edited out by researcher) *made a fifteen-year-old girl pregnant and nothing was done. For young boys the leader like ……* (name edited out by researcher) *even buy alcohol for young boys. They are also using money from donors to enrich themselves because there is no accountability. Before I left team I was also a victim as girl child trying to be selected for the …* (name edited by researcher) *and national team. It is painful when you must do certain things because you have no options and the people you trust take advantage of you* (Grade 11, Interviewee 18).

I referred the above matter to the school managers and NOWSPAR to investigate and have been following up progress. So far, no evidence has been gathered, but NOWSPAR are developing a code of conduct on harassment in sport in partnership with the Norwegian Confederation of Sport (NIF), Women Win and the Kicking AIDS Out Network. Sport for development organizations have started focusing on using sport to tackle gender based violence. As suggested by Caudwell (1999) young women are victims of stereotyping, prejudice and violence as they attempt to do sport, while at the same time complying with ideals of femininity. This extract concurs with Brackenridge (2001) and Massao and Fasting (2002), who have written extensively about sexual harassment in sport in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In this chapter I have used research evidence to show how young women experienced the ways sports valorized the power and privilege of males and produce marginalization and social exclusion of women (Creedon, 1994; Connell, 1995; Coakley, 1992; Markula and Pringle, 2006). The young women in this study recognized and experienced institutionalized sexuality, gender regulation in school sports, restrictions in time, place and resources as well as stereotyping, prejudice and violence (Caudwell, 1999). This was an effective social exclusion from the idea of sport as a right to all people. The respondents experienced gendered regulations relating to how they looked in certain uniforms, men-

struating and feeling uncomfortable participating in sports in front of the males. They experienced performance pressure to prove they are worthy of the sports or deserve to be on the playground while at the same time their behaviour was regulated to conform to heteronormative femininity. One can imagine what it feels like for young women to enter a sport space lacking self-confidence, unsure of how to appear and behave in public with a male audience, what to say and what to do when challenged, and constantly worrying about what other people think of you and of playing to the expected male standards.

Strikingly, however, despite the structural and relational gendered challenges, the young women played sports using resources such as self-confidence and information to navigate and negotiate barriers. They also used strategies that included avoiding sports that compromized their femininity, ignoring and trivializing disparaging comments, proving they are worthy of the sports, conforming to or resisting the gendered ideals expected of young women.

7.7 Discussion

The young women respondents in this research provided evidence of the structural, ideological and interactional barriers they faced to playing sport. Gender discrimination and regulation was a major factor. The notion of sport experienced by young women was masculine, and although they were encouraged and allowed to play 'male' sports, heterosexual norms deemed it unfeminine behaviour and culturally inappropriate . They not only faced traditional gendered cultural stereotypes but also the domination of playing space by males. Resource allocation and access to playing spaces magnified and reinforced the gender hierarchy and the inferior status of women. The gender bias and inequalities faced by the young women in accessing resources and spaces for sport reflect findings from research studies that have elaborated how the playing spaces in schools are dominated by males (Vertinsky, 1997, 2004; Brady, 2005; Dunne, 2007).

Importantly here, as discussed in Chapter 3, school sports including community sports are a key site for the display of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Mac an Ghaill *et al*., 2001; Frosh *et al*., 2002) that reinforced the inferiority and powerlessness of young women (Scraton, 1992; Hargreaves, 1994; Oliver and Lalik; 2000; Cockburn and Clarke, 2002; Penney, 2002; Branham, 2003; Evans *et al*., 2004; Hills, 2006; Aitchison,

2007; Wellard, 2007; Evans *et al*., 2008; Clark, 2009). In this context it is difficult to support the argument that competitive sports can be used to disrupt the gender order and lead to gender equality and transformation.

The young women's behaviour was socially regulated as they experienced pressure to adhere to a normative femininity and body image in ways previously described by other researchers such as Kolnes (1995), William and Bedward (2002), Gorely *et al*. (2003), Fisette (2011), Slater and Tiggemann (2010b) and Welton *et al*. (2013). Some young women conformed to ideal femininity while playing sports, in ways that reflect observations by Bordo (1993) and Butler (1990), who have suggested that women perform a socially desirable and appropriate feminine way as framed by their cultural context. However, the young women in this study had contrasting views about how they should look in sport spaces, with six out of thirty-six not seeing anything wrong feeling or looking like a 'boy'. These views of the young women illustrate Flintoff *et al*.'s (2008) argument of differences within the category of young women.

Young women were exercising their own agency to ignore or resist gendered sport norms (Jary and Jary, 1991; McDermott, 1996), and questioning the binary identity politics that opposed real women or men (Engh, 2006). The discussion and responses of the young women in this study indicated that they were not 'passive victims' or 'cultural dupes', but 'active agents' (Theberge and Birrell, 1994) who demonstrated their capacities to navigate and negotiate barriers to sport within the context they lived.

The sport for development interventions appeared to have a significant positive influence on the confidence, self-esteem and life skills expressed by young women. These interventions enhanced the young women's willingness to participate in sports. However, there was no evidence to suggest that playing sports led to gender equality or empowerment as the young women had limited space to play, or make decisions about the distribution of resources, and had no power to overcome male dominance. Moreover sexual and gender based violence as disclosed by one of the respondents could diminish sport for development's positive influence on their personal development.

While sport for development interventions may not, on their own, be able to address gender inequality or empowerment, they indicated the potential to contribute. It was evident that the young women in this study critically understood their reality, were

aware of, identified and negotiated gendered barriers. But without support from their schools or education in general, resistance to gendered sport by these young women “is hard won” (Theberge and Birrell, 1994, p.371).

8
Conclusions

8.1 The Research Study

This thesis has reported on research into sports participation by a sample of 36 young women in two High Schools in Lusaka, Zambia. The purpose of the research was to understand young women's engagement with sport from stories about their experiences and views of sports, the benefits they gained and the barriers they faced associated with that participation in a context where sport, education, gender, and development intersected and interacted. The research was undertaken at a time when Zambia's national sport policy placed value on sport's contribution to tackling HIV/AIDS, and in achieving a number of important development goals especially gender equality and women's empowerment.

The main research questions were:

1. *What sports do young women play, under what conditions and why do they opt for these sports?*

2. *What do young women value or experience as benefits of taking part in sports?*

3. *What barriers to sports participation have they experienced, how has gender played its part in this and how have they overcome these barriers?*

To answer these questions the research was largely situated within an in-depth interpretive case study design and used observational and interview methods. The two case study schools enabled me to make sense of young women's distinct experiences in the particular contexts in which they participated in sports: the Girls High School which was a 'girls-friendly' environment with few young men as coaches and a Coeducation High School where there were mixed sex physical education lessons and where young women had young men as the audience and occasionally as team mates or opponents. The case study approach enabled me to look at the notion of sport in a school for young women only and in a coeducation school. In both schools the young women played extracurricular sports traditionally associated with males.

At the two schools I was also able to see key differences between schools sports and sport for development in that schools sports were focused on winning whereas sports for development included health and life skills learning through debates, drama and peer education. The sport for development activities were delivered by more female peer or youth leaders compared to male dominated competitive school sports. While I tried to do a cross-case site analysis I remained faithful to the different sites through illustrating the particular experiences of young women whilst also illustrating more general themes (Eatough and Smith, 2006). In analysing and reporting on case study data I allowed different young women's voices to be heard while at the same time in discussing themes I made my interpretive voice clear and distinct from young women. In this way I was able to build up a picture of the general as well as the particular experiences of young women (Smith and Osborn, 2008). Perhaps with sufficient data it would have been helpful to use other categories of analysis like class, geographic location, type of school to compare and contrast experiences and show difference among the category of women. I therefore suggest that extension of my research in future studies might cover these gaps.

The findings of the research show that the sample of young women in the two High Schools in Lusaka largely played male dominated high status and high value competitive sports. The young women viewed sport as ‘doable’, ‘enjoyable’ and ‘fun’ when they wore culturally appropriate uniform, and when they had the support of significant and authoritative others mainly parents, friends and peer coaches. They experienced benefits relating to physical, mental, and reproductive health including social, affective and economic benefits in a context where they had interventions such as life skills, reproductive health and HIV/AIDS and gender education added to sport competitions or tournaments.

Notwithstanding the social support and sport for development interventions, the young women faced cultural stereotypes, gender bias and inequalities in accessing resources and spaces for sport. Resource allocation and access to playing spaces favoured young men and magnified and reinforced young women’s inferior status. Young women’s performance of sports in public spaces was regulated because the patriarchal environment required that they conform to heteronormative femininity. To play competitive sport they had to avoid uniforms that compromised their femininity, ignore, trivialize or resist social pressure from peers and parents, and gendered cultural stereotypes. There was ex-

tensive evidence in young women's responses to suggest significant gender inequality in sport participation.

This study has shown that education institutions and significant others restrict and socialize young women into competitive sports that are gendered and male dominated. To play the sports, young women have to navigate and negotiate gendered barriers; as they do that they may expose themselves to various forms of revulsion. A key issue that concerned me most in this study is that of sexual and gender based violence disclosed by respondents. While sports are celebrated for promoting individual health, well-being, empowerment and gender equality they are also a site for sexual and gender based violence. Although beyond the scope of this study it is highly likely that sexual and gender based violence has diminished participation and the benefits of sport for development in Lusaka. Sport for development practitioners need to be aware of these dangers and explicitly tackle sexual and gender based violence in their practices and in the programme as a whole .

8.2 Personal development and insights

This study has helped me to realise that we, sport for development practitioners, miss out systematic research in our skills bag. The emphasis in the sport for development field has rather been on doing prescriptive monitoring and evaluation based on understandings, predominantly from the Global North, of what counts as robust data gathering, analysis and presentation. This has been highly influenced by donor agency and external evaluator voices. Through this project I have developed an understanding that research and evaluation lie on a continuum and they may use similar methods. However the differences between the two significantly relate to the different purposes they each serve. I understand evaluation as a commissioned process of gathering data for the purpose of assessing, placing merit, value or judgement on activities, objectives, outputs, outcomes and impacts of a policy, programme or project that are often used to aid decision-making by funders, policy makers or a programme board. The evaluation agenda is usually about assessing the efficiency, effectiveness and value for money of a programme as expected or dictated by the funding or commissioning organisation. Perhaps the unexpected finding on gender based violence might have emerged from programme evaluation by sport for development practitioners.

Research on the other hand is more open, complex and systematic inquiry or gathering of information to find out, understand or predict phenomena. The purposes of research as Patton (1990) suggests are to: use theories to explain a phenomenon under investigation; help people to understand problems and find ways of solving them; and to suggest improvements to interventions or solving problems within a programme. At the heart of research is the thinking and debates about what constitutes reality, what can be known and how can we understand it; who is the knower and what theoretical perspectives and tools can we use to gather, analyse and present data to support or persuade people to accept our arguments.

Research broadly falls into three approaches: an approach in which a researcher provides answers to research questions or descriptive explanations about phenomena based on 'facts' or data gathered and analysed using objective methods (inductive); an approach in which a researcher starts with a hypothesis derived from theories which provide possible answers or explanations for a particular phenomenon, then proceeds to gather data using objective methods to test or prove the theories (deductive); and an approach in which a researcher starts with research questions, then analyses and interprets data gathered from lived experiences or subjective accounts of social actors who live in that social world to provide explanations or understandings about social phenomena(abductive/interpretive). My research reported in this thesis is largely interpretive as I provide an understanding of young women's engagement with sports from my interpretation of the subjective accounts of young women who played sports in two High Schools in Lusaka, Zambia. It is not an assessment or evaluation of the efficiency, effectiveness and value for money of sport for development programmes in the two Lusaka High Schools.

8.3 Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis sociologically locates sport as it interacts and intersects with education, development and gender. More specifically, it provides insights into the sports young women played, their reasons for playing the sports, the benefits they experienced, and their own feelings and views of barriers that prevented them from realizing their full potential in sport.

The research upon which this thesis was built offered 36 young women from two High Schools an opportunity to express their experiences and views of sport through their own voices. The research provided a space for young women to be heard. But this is not to suggest interpretive research transforms and democratizes the power relationships between male researchers and the researched. The surrounding conditions and concerns of researching young women I highlight in this section make this a very difficult scenario in which to do research. In my case it was not easy to access young women's voices because of language difficulties and because my adult male power, status and privilege silenced them. I required young women to talk to me an adult male researcher from the United Kingdom in English compared to the young women who were in school and were only able to speak to me in their languages and less fluent English. Before speaking to them I needed to reduce the power asymmetries between myself and the respondents to create an environment in which they could articulate their experiences freely. The further I engaged in the research process the more uncomfortable I became with the idea of giving or accessing these young women's voices. I asked myself several questions such as: Can I give young women voice? Whose voice is it? How can I know it is young women's voices? Is it me or the young women benefiting from telling their experiences? How about if I hear silence, how can I make sense of silence which may be a form of suppression, marginalisation, trivialisation or a form of agency that is resistance.

I tried to navigate these issues and to reduce my male power through employing young female research assistants. These research assistants were intended to bridge the gender, age and language distance between me and the respondents and to enable a better flow of views and voices within the focus groups. However, the flow of views and voices was not easy as research assistants had difficulty in translating to English what the young women said to me in their languages. Three research assistants and some of the respondents missed parts of the discussions during focus groups when they arrived late in spite of me giving them a car with a driver for transport. Discussions were interrupted by research assistants' and young women's mobile phones. I pleaded with them to stop using mobile phones during focus groups but they continued to use them and I interpreted this as a form of resistance. Two research assistants did not participate with me fully in observing sport sessions because they did not wear appropriate attire for sports.

In spite of the difficulties what stands out for me in this study is that the reflexive and collaborative forms of research employed were successful in allowing the subjugated voices of young women to be heard. Such forms of research provide a vehicle for accessing local understandings and knowledge that are crucial in this case to the exploration of young women's engagement with sports. A word of caution, however, is that we researchers should not over-reach (Kay, 2009) as sources of knowledge young women's articulation of their experiences, benefits and views of competitive school sport and sport for development activities. We need to employ methods that enable us to triangulate subjective data or evidence and moreover voices of young men and adults should not be missed as gender in sports (as elsewhere) is relational.

From a sport for development perspective while the discourses in Lusaka are about young women's access to sport and empowerment, the sport for development programmes are de-contextualized and do not seem to consider gender in sport as relational and context specific in the case study schools. There was no evidence from the young women to suggest that playing male sports or sport for development interventions contributed to gender equality and women's empowerment. School sport perpetuated gender-based inequalities. Sport for development developed individual empowerment and agency which enabled young women to navigate, negotiate or resist gender based barriers but was unable to help them transform cultural norms and male dominated power structures which framed their participation. The young women in this study were not embraced as equals by the male dominated sport communities they lived in. These experiences and views about sports have been largely absent in the education and development literature. It is this knowledge gap that this research has attempted to fill.

8.4 Implications

Providing young women the opportunity to speak for themselves in research enables a deeper understanding in this case of how they engage with physical activity. In this sense it has enabled better insights into what young women can do, their capacities, rather than seeing them as either a problem or passive victims of patriarchal culture. The thesis has also provided information about the physical and social conditions under which young women strive to participate in sports.

For practitioners interested in promoting young women's participation in sport, this study has highlighted some key points for consideration: young women are interested in sports, including those currently dominated by males; young women need a voice and must be visible in sports; young women are active agents in addressing barriers they face; their participation is enhanced and ensured when they have social support from friends and family and when they experience benefits they see as valuable to them.

On the basis of this study it is clear to me that sport for development programme planning should be located within young women's social and cultural environments. It should involve young women as they know their needs and interests and the barriers they face. Context specific planning is strongly recommended instead of using a programme planning template or 'one size fits all' approach. In the same vein when researching sport for development it is important to understand research participants' geographical or cultural location as sport for development activities are embedded within their cultural and social worlds. In that way it is possible to get deeper insights on how, for example, patriarchy frames young women's sports participation in specific sites in the Global South. In the geographical and social site of this study young men as well as parents, friends or peers play a significant role in influencing young women's choices of and participation in sports. In such a context young men and significant others might usefully participate in planning and implementing sport for development activities targeted at young women.

Sport for development activities compared to schools sports are more recreational and inclusive offering young women opportunities to interact with young men and to develop important life skills or individual resources such as confidence, self-worth and agency they can use to resist or tackle gendered issues that affect their lives. The life skills, confidence and self-worth the young women develop through participating in sport for development activities contribute to their empowerment. However it is not known if sport for development on its own can contribute to changing gendered structural and ideological practices that oppress and exclude women in society.

Findings in this research project imply the potential of sport for personal and social development (UN, 2007), which suggests that participation in sport needs serious consideration in formal education. A sport for development approach of using peer education

and youth leadership skills has been shown to have some success in that it places responsibility on the young people themselves to address their needs.

8.5 Limitations

In Chapter 4 I identified some of the limitations of my study, including time and financial resource constraints, which made the research a one-off project compared to a study over a number of years. For example, three years to track young women's participation in sports from the time they start secondary education to the time they finish or become women. The timing of the research was not quite right as I missed Grade 12 respondents because they were writing examinations. My sample was small and not inclusive in that it consisted of only sporty young women from two state secondary schools, which limited the study from exploring the topic from multiple stances. I should have taken on board young women of different abilities and backgrounds. In addition I could have gathered views of parents, friends and peer coaches who supported these young women in playing sports.

The young women defined their own femininities in relation to young men. I could have gathered views and experiences of young men for a more holistic view of participants' lived experiences (Reay, 2001). An unexpected finding is gender-based violence. I could not look at this issue in depth and research needs to be completed on this.

8.6 Recommendations for Further Research

Based on the limitations mentioned above, key areas of interest for future research include carrying out longitudinal studies of young women of different abilities and backgrounds to track and explain their continuing participation from onset of adolescence to adulthood. Further research is needed to capture views and experiences of young men who play sports with young women; this is because their views might be important to understanding the gender discrimination. Also, the views and experiences of parents, peers and friends who encourage young women's participation might add more depth to explaining how they influence and support them. Gender-based violence, identified as a barrier in this study, needs further research as its extent and impact in Zambia is not known. Researchers in this area need skills in engaging and working with vulnerable respondents and in particular managing disclosure. I also see the research potential in how

to evidence the impact of sport for development initiatives or to investigate the conditions and processes necessary for effective sport for development interventions.

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Appendices

A. Certificate of Ethics Approval

Social Sciences & Arts Cross-School Research Ethics Committee

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

Reference Number:

School:

Title of Project

Principal Investigator:

(Supervisor)

Expected Start Date:*

*NB. If the actual project start date is delayed beyond 12 months of the expected start date, this Certificate of Approval will lapse and the project will need to be reviewed again to take account of changed circumstances such as legislation, sponsor requirements and University procedures

This project has been given ethical approval by the Social Sciences/Arts Research Ethics Committee (C-REC). ***Please note the following requirements for approved submissions:***

Amendments to research proposal - Any changes or amendments to the approved proposal, which have ethical implications, must be submitted to the committee for authorisation prior to implementation.

Feedback regarding any adverse and unexpected events - Any adverse (undesirable and unintended) and unexpected events that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported to the Chair of the Social Sciences C-REC. In the event of a serious adverse event, research must be stopped immediately and the Chair alerted within 24 hours of the occurrence.

Authorised Signature

Name of Authorised Signatory

(C-REC Chair or nominated deputy)

B. Information Sheet
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

PROJECT TITLE

Insights on Experiences and Views of Young Females Playing Competitive Sport in two different High Schools in Lusaka, Zambia

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is for two purposes, firstly it is an academic study to meet the requirements of my Education Doctorate with University of Sussex and secondly I have professional interest to understand and perhaps address the barriers to female participation in sport. In Zambia gender inequalities in sport participation are evident but the issues are not explored from the experiences and views of young females. So I have chosen to work with thirty six 15 to 19 year old young females who participate in competitive sports in two Government High Schools; a single sex school and a coeducation school, in Lusaka province. In this project I will be collecting information from young females using observation, in depth and focus group interviews. Interviews with each young female will take no more than 40 minutes and focus groups will not take more than one hour per session. This study will be over a period of six months.

WHY YOU HAVE BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

We are interested in young females who consistently participate in competitive sport at school and we think you are one of them. We have been able to identify you through your peers with the approval of the school principal and teachers. There are 15 other young females in your school who are participating in this project.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART?

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate at any time. If you decide either take part or not take part in the project your decision will not impact on your participation in sport nor on your academic studies, marks, assessments or future studies.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART?

If you decide to take part I will gather information about your experiences and views of competitive sport through an individual interview, group discussion and observing you in the field of play. For individual interview I will need not more than 40 minutes of your time, groups interviews will take at most 1 hour and observations will be during the scheduled times you play sport. The interviews and group discussions will happen at times the school principal and you agree as convenient. Below is a guide on the questions I will ask you:

- What competitive sports do you play and why did you chose the sports you play?
- When did you start playing the sport(s) and how did you join the sport(s)?
- What do you like/enjoy and dislike/not enjoy about competitive sport?
- What do your friends, peers, parents/guardians, church members, teachers, and school principal say about sport and your participation in it ? How do you respond to their views or what they say?
- How do you manage playing sport and doing school work?
- What do you view as the benefits, but also the potential drawbacks or limitations of competitive sport?
- What have you seen or heard (both good and bad) about young females participating in competitive sport?
- How much time and other resources (e.g. equipment, uniform, money) do you have for sport?
- How safe and accessible are playgrounds for competitive sport to young females?
- What do you feel about playing sport with males or in view of females and males who are your peers or adults?
- How do you feel about you or young females playing competitive sports mostly played by males such as football, boxing and so on?
- Do you think females in Zambia have equal opportunity as males to participate in competitive sport?
- What makes young females interested and able to play sport? What makes them uninterested and not able to play sport?
- How have you tried to address some of the barriers you and young females face in competitive sport?
- What are your ambitions in competitive sport and how will you try to get there?
- Any other information about your experiences and views of competitive sport you would like to share with me which are not covered by questions above

THE POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES AND RISKS OF TAKING PART

There are no disadvantages nor risks if you participate in this project. We will agree with you suitable time for you to participate and this project will happen at your school. We will make sure you have time for doing your studies, homework and sport and other activities.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART

If you take part you will get a book, hair salon or restaurant gift voucher

WILL WHAT I SAY IN THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

I will check with you what I may or may not record during interviews and observations e.g. your names, or names of any people in your network, location of interview. All information collected about you will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations) and your real name, other names you are known by including all other identifying information such as the name of your school, teachers, principal , parents friends and your peers will not be used or revealed. I will use pseudonyms instead. The information I collect will not be used for any purposes other than the purpose described above. The information will be stored according to the policy and standards of the University of Sussex. All information will be kept securely in paper and electronic form for a period of ten years after completing this project.

WHAT SHOULD I DO IF I WANT TO TAKE PART?

The Ministry of Education and your school principal have given me permission to invite young people like you playing competitive sport in your school to participate in this project. Taking part in this project is voluntary and if you decided to take part you will sign a consent form you will get from me. You will keep a copy of the form including this information sheet. We will also get permission from your parents/guardians if we are required to do so.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY?

The results of the research will be used in my thesis for an Education Doctorate and be shared with the Ministry of Education and Zambia National Organisation for Women Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation

NOWSPAR
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http://www.nowspar.org

WHO IS ORGANISING AND FUNDING THE RESEARCH?

I am organising the project as a postgraduate of the University of Sussex, School of Education and Social Studies. This project is funded by me.

WHO HAS REVIEWED THE STUDY?

This research has been approved by a Dr Moreiad Dunne and the Cluster-based Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) ethical review process.

CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

For further information please contact my supervisor first through contact details below.

Dr Máiréad Dunne Reader/ Associate Professor / Deputy Director Centre for International Education School of Education and Social Work University of Sussex Falmer Brighton BN1 9QQ UK tel on +441273 677401 and email mairead.dunne@sussex.ac.uk

You can also contact me using the contact details below:

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Thank you for taking time to read the information sheet.

DATE
----------To be completed.

C. Consent Forms

CONSENT FORM FOR PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

PROJECT TITLE: _____

_____

Project Approval Reference: _____

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

1* Be interviewed by the researcher
2* Allow the interview to be video taped / audio taped
3* Make myself available for a further interview should that be required

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project, either by the researcher or by any other party.

I understand that I will be given a transcript of data concerning me for my approval before being included in the write up of the research

I understand that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for information which I might disclose in the focus group/s / group interviews.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.
I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Name:

_____

Signature

_____

Date:

_____

I believe that _____ (name) understands the above project and gives his/her consent voluntarily.

Name:

_____

Signature

_____

Date:

_____

Signature

Address:

Date:

D

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The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Education
Lusaka, Zambia
FOA [insert title and names]
[insert address]

Date [insert date]

Dear [insert name]
I am a Doctoral student at University of Sussex in Brighton, England and as part of my studies I am required to conduct a piece of research. I have identified a need for research into **views and experiences of female students in High Schools playing competitive Sport in Lusaka, Zambia.**

I am writing to ask if it would be possible to recruit participants for this study from [Insert names of schools] High Schools. I have prepared a description of the study and what is involved in it for potential participants, and I have attached a copy for you to read. Ideally, I would like to begin data collection on [insert date] but I am very happy to be guided by you on this.

I would anticipate that the project would take no more than 60 minutes once a week over a period of three months, and I would need to have access to your sport playgrounds to collect data. I will endeavour to keep the disruption to your working day to an absolute minimum.

Yours sincerely

Elias E Musangeya

E. Observation Guidelines

Research Instrument 1: Observation

1. **Ethical guidelines**
   - Introductions and disclosure of who I and research assistants are to school authorities
   - We may run a sport session but will be discreet enough about who we are and what are doing so as not to disrupt normal sport activity and open enough so that girls do not feel our presence compromises their privacy
   - If we get to the point of asking questions we should reveal who are and our mission, the right for the young women to refuse discussion and our commitment to confidentiality
2. **What to observe**
   - How the young women appear- clothing, physical appearance
   - Verbal behaviour and interactions- who speaks to whom, for how long, who initiates interaction, languages or dialects spoken, tone of voice
   - Physical behaviour and gestures- who does what, who interacts with who, who is not interacting
   - Personal space- how close people play, stand, sit together
   - Sport space- what do the facilities/playgrounds look like? Which space for young women, who controls and dominates the space, how do they get access to the space , who enters, who leaves the space, how do the manage and share the space, what time is spent on the space, how safe is the space?
   - Playing- what sports do they play, how do they play and with whom?
   - People who stand out- who receives a lot of attention?

F. Focus Groups

Research Instrument 2 Focus Group

Focus group: …….

Number of participants: 6

Date: ……..

Time: ……

Venue: …….

Duration: Up to one hour and thirty minutes

Give an explanation

Good afternoon. My name is _____ and these are my colleagues _____.

Thank you for coming. A focus group is a relaxed discussion.....

Present the purpose

We are here today to talk about your experiences and views of participation in sports. I would like to know:

1. What sports you play

2. Your reasons for playing the sports?

3. The benefits you have experienced in participating

4. The barriers to sports participation you have experienced

5. How have you overcome these barriers?

We are not here to share information, or to give you our opinions. Your views and experiences are what matter. There are no right or wrong or desirable or undesirable answers. You can disagree with each other, and you can change your mind. I would like you to feel comfortable saying what you really think and how you really feel.

Discuss procedure

After introductions I will leave you with my colleagues_____. They will be taking notes and tape recording the discussion so that I do not miss anything you have to say. These procedures were explained to you when we were setting up this meeting. As you know everything discussed here is confidential. No one will know who said what. Discuss freely and respond to my colleagues and to other members in this group without waiting to be called on. I would appreciate it if only one person talked at a time be-

cause I want you to hear each other. The discussion will last approximately one hour. There is a lot I want to discuss, so at times I may move us along a bit.

Participant introduction

Now, let's start by everyone sharing their name, what sport you play, and how long you have been playing the sports.

Interview

Sports they play and why

Do many of you at this school participate in competitive sport? Which sport do you like to participate in and why?

Probes: If one or two sports are mentioned - *Has anyone played a different sport _____?*
If not - *Why not?* If yes- *Why? How do you feel about playing competitive sports mostly played by males such as football, boxing?*

What made you choose to plat the sports?

Have you played sport with boys?

Probes*: Tell me more about how did that work? What do you feel about playing sport with males?*

Who do you consider to be the most supportive person and why?

Probes: *How would your participation be different if they did not support you?*

Who is not supportive and why?

Probes: *How do you respond to their views or what they say? How do you manage that lack of support?*

How do you manage playing sport and doing school work?

Benefits

What do you view as the benefits of participating in sport? What makes it possible for you to experience the benefits?

Barriers to participation

Are you able to access the playgrounds?

Probes: *How safe are playgrounds? How much time and other resources (e.g. equipment, uniform, money) do you have for sport?*

What are the drawbacks or limitations of competitive sport to you?

Do you think females in Zambia have equal opportunity as males to participate in competitive sport ?

Probes: *If not what are the differences? Why do such differences exists?*

How have you tried to address some of the barriers you and young females face in competitive sport?

Closure

Though there were many different experiences, views or opinions about sport, it appears that most of you play _____ because of_____. Does anyone see it differently? It seems most of you agree that the benefits of playing sport are _____, but some think that _____. Does anyone want to add or clarify an opinion on this? It looks like most of you agree that the major barriers to you playing sport are_____. Does anyone have a different view to this?

Is there any other information regarding your experience with sport that you think would be useful for us to know?

Thank you very much for coming this afternoon. Your time is very much appreciated and your comments have been very helpful.

G. Semi-structured Interviews Guide

Research Instrument 3 Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Site……

Interviewer…….

Date…….

Start time…….

End time……..

1. ***Can you tell me about yourself:*** *your names, Grade, where you live and family background*

2. ***Sports you play and reasons for playing***
   What competitive sports do you play ?

   Why did you choose the sports you play?

   When did you start playing the sport(s)

   How did you join the sport(s)?

   What do you like/enjoy and dislike/not enjoy about the sport?

   What makes you interested and able to play sport?

   What makes you uninterested and not able to play sport?

   What are your ambitions in competitive sport and how will you try to get there?

3. ***Benefits of playing***

What do you view as the benefits of participating in sport?

What has made it possible for you to enjoy the benefits?

4. ***Challenges and barriers***

What do you wear when you participate in sport? Are you comfortable with what you wear?

How do you like to appear in public when playing sport? Why is that the case?

How safe and accessible are playgrounds for competitive sport to young females?

How much time and other resources (e.g. equipment, uniform, money) do you have for sport?

What do you feel about playing sport with males or in view of females and males who are your peers or adults?

What have you seen or heard (both good and bad) about young females participating in competitive sport in public?

What do your friends, peers, parents/guardians, church members, teachers, and school principal say about competitive sport and your participation in it?

How do you respond to their views or what they say?

How do you manage playing sport and doing school work?

Do you think females in Zambia have equal opportunity as males to participate in competitive sport?

What are the differences between male's and female's participation in sport?

How have you tried to address some of the barriers you face in competitive sport?